

# Notes

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## Preface

1. Stephen R. Mark, Oregon Caves Historic District, nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, June 1991, section 10.
2. USDI-NPS, *Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Forms*, National Register Bulletin 16, Part B (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1991), 1.
3. The version called *History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1987) contains a framework in the form of an extended outline that aims to list every major facet of American history, whereas the “Themes and Concepts” document of 1994 is broad and open-ended in its revised framework; see <http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/>

## Introduction

1. Even if rarely expressed, only the deepest, oldest and strongest beliefs are likely to have structured space and time in caves and parks developed as “Edenic,” or those which express the desire to make earth into a vision of heaven. Newer constructs such as the frontier, science, the sublime, and capitalism can be considered an outgrowth of older beliefs, if only because some type of technological development is necessary as a precondition, but they follow from more archetypal concepts which link them to the Edenic vision. Examples are mystery (where landscapes pro-

vide the impression that new information by traveling deeper into them) legibility (which allows for exploration in an environment that can be discerned if one travels further into it), prospect (gaining information by seeing outward), and refuge (gaining information without giving any away, or seeing without being seen) which can be used to manipulate a person's surroundings—as in a garden.

2. It could be that the more technologically powerful and wealthy a society becomes, it is more interested in its own past than that of myths or archetypes which transcend individual nation states. In this study, for example, myths are reinterpreted through a cultural lens which melds the archetype (such as an Edenic garden) with newer concepts (like the frontier) to make the composite seem uniquely American. Widespread belief by Americans in this “composited construction” has profoundly affected the course of events in places like Oregon Caves. This study, however, is not historiographical critique, though it does make use of some myths affecting the monument as organizing devices. Causal connections among major ideas that extend backwards into prehistory tend to be speculative for purposes of historical narrative because such “meta-text” is not explicitly stated in written source material.

3. No. 876, July 12, 1909, 36 Stat. 2497.

4. Ibid. The proclamation's use of “scientific interest and importance” as a justification for the monument's establishment is significant by virtue of its rarity in enabling legislation for national park units until the 1960s, as well as the fact that virtually nothing scientific was known about Oregon Caves at the time.

5. USDA-Forest Service, *An Ideal Vacation Land: the National Forests of Oregon* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1923), 28.

6. USDA-Forest Service, *The Oregon Caves: a National Monument* (Washington, DC: GPO, ca. 1925], 3. The names of cave formations and rooms at the time, however, did not suggest random or truly varied resemblances. Some names, such as “paradise,” “Eden,” “garden,” and “grotto” with allusions to Indians or to Greek and Roman lore reinforce how the cave was considered to be part of an idealized landscape—and could be made more so by using such appellations.

7. Toll to the NPS director (Horace Albright), February 6, 1932, 4-5.

8. Narrative on pages 1-3 of the master plan, attached to a memorandum from Ernest P. Leavitt, superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, to the Regional Director of Region 4, February, 16, 1945.

9. USDI-NPS, Master Plan Development Outline, Oregon Caves National Monument, March 1952, 1-2.

10. Thomas Williams to NPS Director (Conrad Wirth), April 7, 1955, 3.

11. USDI-NPS, Prospectus No. 1, Mission 66, OCNM, July 29, 1955, 1.

12. USDI-NPS, Mission 66 Prospectus, OCNM, November 15, 1957, 1; Paul Fritz, Master Plan of OCNM, Chapter 2, Area Objectives, August 23, 1964, 1.

13. USDI-NPS, *Master Plan, Oregon Caves National Monument, Oregon* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1975), 8. Calcite deposition at what is now the monument and in much of the Far West was most likely on seamounts (a submarine mountain rising more than 500 fathoms above the ocean floor) or on the edge of volcanic island arcs amid mostly deeper water not conducive to calcite deposition. This and the subsequent splitting apart of limestone or marble masses through extensive faulting resulted in small and medium-size caves in much of the region. Although such processes resulted in less intriguing caves due to small sizes, they also resulted in caves of medium dimension (like Oregon Caves) being relatively rare and thus appealing as a tourist attraction.

14. See, for example, a statement for management written by Superintendent John Miele dated June 2, 1983 where the significance appears verbatim on page 2.

15. Statement for Management, OCNM, August 1994, 9-10. The structures are mentioned, however, in the monument's resource management plan of the time. They appear in a section which identifies resource values; Resource Management Plan, OCNM, approved September 8, 1994, 4-5. This was also the first time that some of the animals found only at Oregon Caves were mentioned. Although they have been singled out by a few scientists as nationally significant, it is not generally known that an entire family of soil millipedes is endemic to the monument.

16. USDI-NPS, Draft General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement, OCNM, December 1997, 5.

17. USDI-NPS, General Management Plan, OCNM, August 1999, volume 1, 4-5.1

## 1. Locked in a Colonial Hinterland

1. Manufacturing and distribution centers in large retail markets create added value for products and are hence the secondary part of the economy. This value added is generally lacking at the primary tier, partly because farmers, loggers, and miners lack the investment capital necessary for what is called vertical integration—where the extraction, manufacture, and distribution of the product is controlled by the same entity.

2. George McKinley and Doug Frank, *Stories on the Land: An Environmental History of the Applegate and Upper Illinois Valleys*, report to the Medford District, Bureau of Land Management, September 1995.

3. *Ibid.*, 30. The loss of game has repeatedly resulted wherever farming cultures moved into areas held by hunter gatherers, though there are exceptions to this—such as the bison extinction in southeast Oregon made possible by hunter gatherers who acquired horses; Vernon Bailey, *The Mammals and Life Zones of Oregon*. North American Fauna 55, USDA-Bureau of Biological Survey, June 1936, 57-61.

4. Jeff LaLande, *First Over the Siskiyou: Peter Skene Ogden's 1826-1827 Journey Through the Oregon - California Borderlands* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1987), 108; cited in McKinley and Frank, 18. A shorter account of Ogden's travels appeared in Elizabeth Heckert's *The People and the River* (Ashland: Aquarius Press, 1977), 121-122.

5. Stephen Dow Beckham, Cultural Resource Overview of the Siskiyou National Forest, report to USDA Forest Service (1978), 62.

6. Beckham, *Requiem for a People: the Rogue Indians and the Frontiersmen* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1998), 47-52.

7. For a map showing the areas and duration of disease outbreaks in Oregon, see William G. Loy (ed.) *Atlas of Oregon* (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2001), 16-17.

8. Speakers of Karok, for example, are estimated to have numbered between 1,500 and 2,000 prior to contact; William F. Shipley, "Native Languages of California," in *Handbook of North American Indians volume 8, California* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 85. Other accounts substantiate the idea that this part of California had a higher ratio of Indian population in relation to whites than about any other part of the state; Shelburn F. Cook, "Historical Demography," *op cit.*, 91. In the Rogue River Basin, by contrast, an 1852 estimate of indigenous population puts fourteen bands of Indians at only 1,136 in number. Of these fourteen, only one group was placed in the Illinois Valley, whereas three lived in the Applegate drainage; Nathan Douthit, *Uncertain Encounters: Indians and Whites at Peace and War in Southern Oregon, 1820s-1860s* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2002), 227 (n27).

9. Beckham, Cultural Resources Overview, 80. The limited ethnographic record for southwest Oregon groups is reflected in the entries which appear in the *Handbook of North American Indians, volume 7, Northwest Coast* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 580-592, and the previously cited volume 8 of that series, 211-224.

10. Francis Paul Prucha, "U.S. Indian Policies, 1815-1860," *Handbook of North American Indians, volume 4, History of Indian-White Relations*, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 43-49.

11. The federal Supreme Court decision in *Johnson vs. McIntosh* ruled that Indian nations held aboriginal use and occupancy rights on their lands, meaning that tribes could live on their lands until their lands were purchased by the United States Government. Indian title, however, had to be formally recognized by treaty or statute, and only the federal government could purchase and convey Indian lands. Congress created a problem in Oregon by disregarding Indian property rights with passage of the Donation Land Act on September 27, 1850 which permitted taking of some 2.5 million acres of Indian lands prior to any treaty ratification; Jeff Zucker, et al., *Oregon Indians: Culture, History and Current Affairs* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1987), 81-82; William G. Robbins, "Extinguishing Indian Land Title in Western Oregon," *The Indian Historian* (Spring 1974), 12-15.

12. The treaties of interest in reference to Oregon Caves are the one of September 10, 1853 at Table Rock, as well as one on November 18, 1854, at the mouth of Applegate Creek on the Rogue River; also the traditional affiliation study on Oregon Caves by Douglas Deur.

13. Zucker, et al., *Oregon Indians*, 85.

14. Most of the archival records relating to the conflicts that took place between 1850 and 1856 focus on the Rogue Valley and southern Oregon coast; see Beckham's *Requiem for a People* and Douthitt's *Uncertain Encounters* for more context and detail. Francis Fuller Victor's 1891 account in Dorothy and Jack Sutton (eds.), *Indian Wars of the Rogue River* (Grants Pass: Josephine County Historical Society, 2003) is also useful. The Illinois Valley and upper Applegate were largely peripheral to most of the trouble, but troops under the command of Captain Robert Williams skirmished with Indians in 1853 on the creek later named for him. At approximately the same time, Indians attacked miners on the Illinois, an action that led to a pitched battle in the mountains. Soldiers believed these natives were Tolowas from the mouth of the Smith River in California; Victor noted that miners in the Illinois Valley had been annoyed by depredations they attributed to coastal Indians forced inland by warfare in October of that year (see Beckham, *Requiem for a People*, 126-127). Miners and Indians had meanwhile negotiated an informal treaty to limit hostilities in the valley, though this served only to postpone the violence until May 1855; Beckham, *Requiem for a People*, 104, 149.

15. Beckham, Cultural Resources Overview, 80-83.

16. Zucker, *Oregon Indians*, 112-113.

17. Quoted from Edward Sapir (1907) in Dennis J. Gray, *The Takelma and their Athapascan Neighbors*, anthropological papers 37 (Eugene: University of Oregon, 1987), 13.

18. In 1861 a group of Takelma appeared in the Table Rock vicinity, demanding that white Americans comply with the terms of their 1853 treaty, but this group was quickly sent back to the Siletz Reservation; Jacksonville *Table Rock Sentinel* microfilm, Southern Oregon Historical Society.

19. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 30-32.

20. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 33. These food sources are listed by Jeff Lalonde, Cultural Resources Overview for the North Siskiyou Planning Unit, May 1977, 11. Most of the agricultural potential in the Illinois Valley lies within a "triangle" which has the communities of Kerby, O'Brien, and Holland at its corners; Samuel N. Dicken, *Oregon Geography: the People, the Place, and the Times* (Eugene: University of Oregon Bookstore, 1965), 83-84.

21. Jackson County was bounded by Douglas County to the north, Coos to the west, and Wasco to the east; Loy, et al., *Atlas of Oregon*, 21.

22. Russell Working, "Name that Town," in *Etc. Magazine*, Grants Pass *Courier* (December 1989), 27-28; see also Lewis McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Names* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1974), 397-398.

23. Willard and Elsie Street, *Sailors' Diggings* (Wilderville, Ore.: Wilderville Press, 1973), 11. The authors note that the number of Chinese was derived from mining licenses granted, not an actual count made from the county census.

24. See George Kramer, *Mining in Southwestern Oregon: A Historic Context Statement*, Heritage Research Associates Report 234, Eugene, December 1999.

25. Catherine Noah, "Where's Waldo," *Table Rock Sentinel* 12:6 (November/December 1992), 23.

26. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 28.

27. Kramer, *Mining in Southwestern Oregon*, 7-8. This is also true in California, though the scale is different. The population there peaked at 500,000 between 1852 and 1857, largely as the result of the gold mining boom. California's non-Indian population fell to 310,000 by 1860, a figure that reflected how the placer mining period had passed; Kenneth N. Owens, *Historic Trails and Roads in California: A Cultural Resources Study*. Volume 1: Historic Context and Typology. Report prepared for the California Department of Transportation, March 1990, 51 (note 34).

28. William H. Brewer, *Up and Down California* in 1860-1864

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 483. The earliest figures for gold production in Oregon were not generated until 1866; Kramer, *Mining in Southwestern Oregon*, 7.

29. Kramer, *Mining in Southwestern Oregon*, 42-44.

30. Kramer, *Mining in Southwestern Oregon*, 45; Brewer, *Up and Down California*, 484.

31. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon* (1884) quoted in Kramer, *Mining in Southwestern Oregon*, 21. By 1855 there seemed to be little opportunity for the independent miner at places like Sailors Diggings (Waldo) if they lacked the capital needed for a long sluice, a situation repeated during the placer phase throughout the west. Although the prospects for finding and processing viable lodes remained somewhat limited in southwest Oregon, all of the sub-basins between Althouse and Jacksonville saw some placer mining activity during the 1850s and 60s; McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 28-29.

32. Kramer, *Mining in Southwestern Oregon*, 36.

33. Kramer, *Mining in Southwestern Oregon*, 65. From the sketchy data available, gold production for both Jackson and Josephine counties for the period between 1855 and 1863 amounted to \$1.5 million, falling to \$1.2 million between 1864 and 1896 (these figures are based on the standardized price for gold of \$20.87 per ounce set by the U.S. Treasury in 1837, one effective until 1933). By comparison, gold production in California (most coming from the Sacramento drainage and/or Sierra foothills) amounted to \$41 million for 1850 alone. The strikes in southern Oregon during the 1850s were simply a small portion of a larger tripling of worldwide gold production during that decade, with much of it attributed to opening of the new western American goldfields. Gold mining in the United States, however, did not begin in California, since gold worth some \$60 million had been extracted in North Carolina from 1799 to 1860; Tony L. Crumbley, "America's First Gold Rush," *American Philatelist* 118:6 (June 2004), 511.

34. Loy, et al., *The Atlas of Oregon*, 26-27.

35. Modeled somewhat after earlier legislation that brought white Americans to Texas, the DLCA had several aims. First, it legitimized claims made by Oregon Trail "emigrants" who had reached the Willamette Valley in the 1840s. The act also made all future claims correspond to a rectangular grid established by the Pacific Coast Survey created by this legislation. Third, the DLCA provided settlers with incentive to stay in Oregon rather than moving to the California goldfields, as many had in the aftermath of the "rush" that commenced in 1848. Much of the land claimed in Oregon, however, had not been divested of Indian title at

the time of initial white settlement.

36. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 36-37.

37. Under the first donation land law in effect from 1850 to 1852, a male settler could claim and assume ownership of 320 acres of unsurveyed land if he resided on the land for four consecutive years. If married before December 1, 1851, his wife could also claim 320 acres. By 1853, however, the allowable claim had been reduced to 160 acres for each spouse, but the required occupancy went down to two years. The Homestead Act provided 160 acres to any settler paying the filing fee and who could reside on his property and improve it for five years. If they wished to buy the land for \$1.25 an acre after six months, the settler could do so. Various "preemption" (squatting) acts were passed to facilitate settlement of the west starting in the 1830s, though the settler had to have the cash to pay for the land when it came up for sale.

38. Edna May Hill, *Josephine County Historical Highlights I* (Grants Pass: Josephine County Historical Society, 1980). The route is described in more detail by Stephen Dow Beckham, Cultural Resources Overview, 95, and Ruth Pfefferle, *Golden Days and Pioneer Ways* (Grants Pass: Josephine County Historical Society, 1977), 83-84.

39. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 64-65.

40. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 85.

41. Walling, *History of Southern Oregon* (1884), 350, quoted in McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 91.

42. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 77-78.

43. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 33.

44. "Note on Williams Valley Recall Early Settlers, Important Events," Grants Pass *Courier*, April 2, 1960.

45. Oregon Mining Journal for 1897, cited in Kramer, Mining in Southwestern Oregon, 106.

46. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 34.

47. This interpretation of western America is still debated with much fervor among historians; see, for example, Richard W. Etulain, *Does the Frontier Experience Make America Exceptional?* (Boston: St. Martins, 1999).

48. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

49. Olga Weydemeyer Johnson, *They Settled in Applegate Country* (Grants Pass: Josephine County Historical Society, 1969), 52.

50. Ibid. The move to Nome completed a move across the North American continent in three generations. It began with Davidson's grandfather, Elijah Barton Davidson, Sr., who went from his birthplace of



Rutherford, North Carolina, to Warren, Kentucky. He then went west with his son, Elijah Barton Davidson, Jr., to Monmouth, Oregon; pedigree chart attached to a letter from Chuck White to John Roth, May 1991.

51. E.J. Davidson, "History of the Discovery of the Marble Halls of Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 23:3 (September 1922), 274-276.

52. William W. Fidler, "An Account of the First Attempt at Exploration of the "Oregon Caves," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 23:3 (September 1922), 270-273; this version retitled from initial version that appeared in the Portland *Oregonian* on August 1, 1887.

53. Davidson, "History of the Discovery," 276. There is speculation that the bear may have been a grizzly; Larry McLane, remarks at Oregon Caves history seminar, OCNM, June 5, 1992.

54. Thomas Atwood to General Superintendent (Don Spalding), July 6, 1979, H1415, Davidson file, OCNM.

55. Visitation in 1921, for example, was 1,133 but only 363 in 1910.

56. Fidler, "An Account of the First Attempt," 273.

57. Eighteenth century Romantics incorporated wild and deep caves (as opposed to the shallow grottoes in contrived landscapes) into the construct of Edenic garden through their concept of the sublime. Animals served as intermediaries between people and caves by prompting their discovery—as in this case and many others, including Mammoth and Carlsbad. More on the practical side, Davidson logically opted for a bear over the deer because the former supplied a bigger hide, meat, and more especially tallow for boots, grease, and cooking. If the bear was a grizzly, it may well have been one of the few in Oregon at the time. The last grizzly on the western side of the Cascade Range was reported killed in 1877; McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 78.

58. Fidler, "An Account of the First Attempt," 270-273; see also Frank Walsh, "Excerpts from the Robert A. Miller Journal [trip of August 14-16, 1878], *The Speolograph* 31:11 (November 1995), 144; George Dunn, *A Trip to Josephine County Caves, 1883*, in Southern Oregon Historical Society manuscripts collection [references a trip made by Thomas Condon and University of Oregon students]. These parties and others of the time also left inscriptions in the cave which place the Condon trip in August 1884 rather than 11 months earlier; Denise M. Heald, *Historical Graffiti of Oregon Caves National Monument, A Limited Survey*, compiled in 1987, OCNM files.

59. Dunn manuscript, 2-3.

60. Burch, *Oregon Caves as they were in the '80s*, manuscript c. 1925, Josephine County Historical Society, Grants Pass, Oregon Caves file.

## 2. The Closing of a Frontier

1. Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 243-246. White makes the point that this export economy resulted from rapid world population growth during the nineteenth century, increased urbanization, improved transportation links, and European imperialism. These factors produced an escalating demand for basic commodities in Europe and the United States.

2. Jack Sutton, *110 Years with Josephine: The History of Josephine County, Oregon, 1856-1966* (Grants Pass: Josephine County Historical Society, 1966), 18. Prior to 1885, the closest rail connection to Josephine County was at Roseburg, where the Oregon and California Railroad (recipient of a land grant from Congress in 1866) arrived in 1873. Once the O&C fell into bankruptcy, some refinancing allowed the Southern Pacific to build the line to Grants Pass.

3. Ibid.

4. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 68-69. Both were on the same stage route, one which utilized Deer Creek from Selma to reach the Applegate drainage.

5. See Ruth Pfefferle, *Golden Days and Pioneer Ways* (Grants Pass: Bulletin Publishing Company, 1995), 81-84, for a description of travel through the Illinois Valley using both stage and freight wagon. See also Sutton, *110 Years with Josephine*, 86.

6. Much of this was done speculatively, with the principal being Jonathon Bourne, a Portland attorney who later became a United States senator from Oregon. Sol Abrams, who eventually returned to Roseburg, held the Grants Pass townsite that Bourne sought to control; McLane, Oregon Caves history seminar, June 5, 1992.

7. Harkness owned the Grove Creek Ranch in Sunny Valley and married Cassie Burch of Canyonville. He worked for Bourne and bought up lots as an agent, an activity that made him unpopular with some Grants Pass residents. Copy of mining entry recorded by Charles Hughes, Josephine County Clerk, May 19, 1885; location notice dated May 2, 1885; Oregon Caves pre-1900 file, OCNM.

8. Burch, Oregon Caves as they were in the '80s, 1. McLane has stated that Burch and Harkness could have obtained title at least one other way under the land laws (a declaratory statement allowed under the pre-emption act of 1841), though this would probably have reduced the patented acreage given that payment for land was expected at the time of survey. A location notice was probably sufficient to stifle any potential

competitors, yet also served as a way to avoid taxes while the pair improved the claim and determined whether they could afford to hold the land in fee simple.

9. Ibid. Roughly 420 feet of ladders had been built by the end of the following year.

10. Ibid. See also Frank K. Walsh and William R. Halliday, *Oregon Caves, Discovery and Exploration* (Coos Bay: Te-Cum-Tom, 1982), 7. Admission to the cave was set at \$1; advertisement in the Rogue River *Courier*, July 9, 1886.

11. Virtually all the publicity on the cave up to that time had been generated locally, with seemingly little effect, even when feature articles appeared in the Grants Pass paper throughout the summer of 1886; see, for example, "Limestone Caves of Josephine County, Rogue River *Courier*, July 1 and July 8, 1886, and "The Greatest Natural Curiosities of Oregon," Rogue River *Courier*, September 3, 1886. The literary magazines generally commanded audiences over a greater geographic area than newspapers of the time; in this instance, see "The Caves of Southern Oregon," *The West Shore*, January 1888, 31-32.

12. S.S. Nicolini, "Explorers Return from a Visit to the Ice Caves of Josephine County," Portland *Daily News*, September 10, 1888, and Nicolini, "Crater Lake: A Visit to that Picturesque Body of Water," Portland *Daily News*, September 11, 1888. Similarly, Steel wrote articles titled "In the Josephine Caves," Portland *Oregonian*, September 10, 1888, and "Visit to Crater Lake," Portland *Oregonian*, September 11, 1888.

13. Frances Fuller Victor, *Atlantis Arisen: Talks of a Tourist about Oregon and Washington* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1891), 136-137.

14. The Mining Law of 1872 dictates how claims made on public can become private property or "patented." Although this is a way of avoiding the stipulation of a survey requirement that generally limit how a homestead or other types of claims could be acquired, there was little incentive to pay property taxes on such property until the claim could pay either in extracted ore, as a tourist attraction, or possibly a speculative holding.

15. Charles Michelson, "Another Western Marvel," San Francisco *Examiner*, July 11, 1891, and "Our Splendid Caverns," July 12, 1891. Two refutations appeared in Portland papers; W.W. Fidler, "Oregon's Great Caves," Portland *Oregonian*, July 21, 1891, and George Moffett, "Oregon's Great Cavern," Portland *Evening Telegram*, July 21, 1891.

16. During that period separate rooms were often referred to as a single cave, hence the aggregate became "caves" or "caverns," as at Carlsbad in New Mexico or Cumberland in Tennessee.

17. Walsh and Halliday, *Oregon Caves, Discovery and Exploration*, 7.

18. "Oregon's Mammoth Cave," Grants Pass *Oregon Observer*, December 28, 1893. The hyperbole is reminiscent of the earliest Euro-American account fantasizing about Yellowstone's "petrified birds singing on petrified trees," an exaggeration common enough in the promotion of tourist attractions at the time.

19. Ibid. Not that westerners hadn't seen such grandiose plans before; the same page of the *Observer* carried a story about the collapse and sale of the Oregon Pacific Railroad, a scheme whose promoters claimed would connect Boise with Corvallis and make Newport a major shipping terminus.

20. Ibid. He even wanted to build a large hotel at the cave and connect it with Crescent City by railroad through the Illinois Valley.

21. Letter from A.B. Smith, January 2, 1894, transcribed by Veda Thomas with e-mail message sent to OCNM, August 21, 2004; articles in the *Oregon Observer*, "The Great Caves," February 3, 1894, and "Oregon's Great Cave," February 24, 1894.

22. Walsh and Halliday, *Oregon Caves, Discovery and Exploration*, 8.

23. "The Josephine County Caves," *Oregon Observer*, April 28, 1894.

24. "Unexpected Reception," *Oregon Observer*, May 19, 1894.

25. F.B. Millard, "Down in the Underland," San Francisco *Examiner*, June 3, 1894.

26. Millard, "Monte Cristo's Treasures," San Francisco *Examiner*, June 10, 1894. They apparently surmised the paths taken by previous visitors through evidence of breakage and the discoloration left by the use of coal oil on torches.

27. Ibid.

28. "Notice to the Public," *Oregon Observer*, June 23, 1894. The assessment notice appeared again a week later, also announcing that all unpaid stock was to be auctioned by the end of August.

29. Walsh and Halliday, *Oregon Caves, Discovery and Exploration*, 8. A sheriff's sale of the company's movable property in October 1894 netted only \$60. Its collapse is also mentioned in "The Caves of Oregon," *Oregon Observer*, September 19, 1906.

30. As an example, "Into the Cave," Roseburg *Review*, June 10, 1894, announced two additional expeditions to the cave had formed on the heels of what the *Examiner* reported. One was to start from Portland about July 1 and explore the Cascade Range before arriving at the cave, while another organized in San Francisco had the same object. Such prospects quickly evaporated in the wake of the company's potential demise, but the writer for the Roseburg paper made the overt connection

between exploration and money needed to make the cave accessible to the “average tourist” who preferred “walking erect in search of the curious and rare in nature.”

31. John H. Mitchell, “The Oregon Caves,” *National Geographic* 590, April 20, 1895, 275; editorial in Jacksonville *Semi-Weekly Times*, October 3, 1895; “A Great Honey-Combed Mountain Forty Miles from Grants Pass,” *Oregon Observer*, December 21, 1895; H.R., “A trip from Grants Pass to the Limestone Caves of Josephine County – the Greatest Natural Curiosities of Oregon,” Grants Pass *Courier*, September 3, 1896; article by Amos Voorhies in the *Courier*, August 19, 1897, as referenced in the same newspaper on October 25, 1977. Virtually all of the writers made reference to a bottomless pit and other such features.

32. This type of writing continued to appear until 1915 or so; see, for example, a piece by one of Smith’s business associates, F.M. Nickerson, “The Oregon Caves,” *Oregon Teachers Monthly* 19 (September 1914), 2.

33. “Josephine County Caves” section of a circular printed on April 1, 1896 by the Mazamas group in Portland that promoted their excursion set for August that year to Crater Lake and other points in southern Oregon.

34. Kramer, Mining in Southwestern Oregon, 60.

35. Cameron Jenks, Development of Government Forest Control, 109.

36. The most prominent advocate for the reserves in Oregon was John B. Waldo, a former chief justice of the state supreme court, who began his efforts to establish reserves in the 1880s; for the complete text of such debates, see Gerald W. Williams and Stephen R. Mark (comps.), Establishing and Defending the Cascade Range Forest Reserve: as found in letters, newspapers, magazines, and official reports. USDA-Forest Service, Pacific Northwest Region, September 30, 1995. For more about the idea of a frontier commons, see Mark, “Closing Down the Commons: Conflict between Sheep Grazing and Forestry in Oregon’s Cascade Range, 1865-1915,” *Journal of the Shaw Historical Library* 18 (2004), 63-74.

37. Quoted from Walling, *History of Southern Oregon* (1884), 455, in McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 152. A single mill located two miles below Williams served local needs in the upper Applegate Valley at that time; Walling, *History of Southern Oregon*, 458, in Beckham, Cultural Resources Overview, 131. Small mills were operated either by water power or hand-pulled whipsaws.

38. McKinley and Frank, *Stories on the Land*, 153; the “light growth” characterization is in Henry Gannett, *The Forests of Oregon*,

USGS Professional Paper No. 4 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1902), 23. Some operations in Grants Pass prospered, however. Robert Booth, for example, became the principal contractor supplying bridge and tunnel timbers for a portion of the Southern Pacific Railroad and became the leading lumberman in his county between 1886 and 1898. He then relocated to Springfield to form the Booth-Kelly Lumber Company, one of the longest-lived timber enterprises in Oregon; Beckham, Cultural Resources Overview, 131.

39. It should be noted that Hermann, a former Oregon congressman from Douglas County, had been implicated in the land fraud scandals of the time.

40. Freida F. Glicemae, Forestry Legislation in the History of Forest Reserves in Oregon, MA thesis, University of Oregon, 1940, 30-32. Langille had earlier reported on the Cascade Range reserve and had served there in an administrative capacity. He supported the Rogue River withdrawal to conserve timber from destructive fires and to keep it from the machinations of land syndicates.

41. Portland *Oregonian*, October 8, 1903, cited by Glicemae, Forestry Legislation, 39. A map of the withdrawal appeared in the *Oregon Observer*, May 30, 1903.

42. Glicemae, Forestry Legislation, 63-65; see also L.J. Cooper, History of the Siskiyou National Forest, Section III, in A History of the Siskiyou National Forest (1939), 1-2.

43. Within a year Fulton had been implicated in the land fraud scandal that enveloped Oregon and other western states. Although so reticent about the need for reform of the land laws that he opposed repeal of the Timber and Stone Act of 1878, Fulton proposed an idea that was eventually adopted, in that he proposed that 25 percent of revenues generated on reserved forest lands (called national forests after 1907) be returned to counties as partial compensation to counties for the loss of potentially alienable land from their tax rolls; see Glicemae, 64.

44. These include the first monument, Devils Tower (1906) and many that immediately followed: Petrified Forest (1906), Lassen Peak (1907), Muir Woods (1908), Pinnacles (1908), the Grand Canyon (1908), and Jewel Cave (1908).

45. Ashland *Tidings*, August 1, 1907. Watson pursued varied interests and several career paths throughout his life before practicing law in Ashland. There is precious little published information about him, though his short-lived vocation as a timber cruiser in the Klamath River country is instructive; Watson, "War on the Forest Primeval: Recollections of a Western Timber Locator," *Overland Monthly* 75 (June 1920), 506-508,

553-556. He also produced reminiscences for the Ashland *Tidings* which appeared on October 25, 29, and 30 of 1923, and then May 28, June 8, July 2, and 8 of 1924.

46. Miller, "The Sea of Silence," *Sunset* 13:5 (September, 1904), 395-404.

47. Anderson to the Forester (Gifford Pinchot), August 3, 1907, as transcribed from J.H. Billingslea, Forest Supervisor (of the Siskiyou NF) to Regional Forester, January 27, 1931, Boundaries (L) file, copy in OCNM archives. It is unclear as to whether Veach could have succeeded in gaining control of the cave as Harkness and Burch had with a location notice, given how a patent could not be issued without a survey and that the Forest Service had orders from Pinchot to stop such subterfuge of the land laws.

48. Fred Bennett, Acting Commissioner (of the GLO) to Registrar and Receiver (of the Land Office), Roseburg, Oregon, August 12, 1907, transcribed as Exhibit A of a memorandum from C. Richard Neely, USDI assistant regional solicitor to NPS regional director, May 26, 1976.

49. Draft special use permit attached to a letter from Anderson to Pinchot, December 16, 1907. This represented something of a response to Pinchot's request on October 30 for a full report on Oregon Caves.

50. L.J. Cooper, History of the Siskiyou National Forest, Section III, 5. Their work centered on claims made under the Timber and Stone Act of 1878, most of which Cooper described as fraudulent, as well as claims resulting from the Forest Homestead Act of 1906.

51. Anderson to the Forester, January 1, 1908, referencing Pinchot's letter to Anderson dated October 30, 1907. In the latest request for a permit, Oium proposed an entry fee to be set by the Forest Service which the permittees could collect in exchange for a lease of ten acres and the improvements outlined in 1907; Oium to Anderson, October 13, 1908.

52. Dean ran a convenient measure of 60 chains by 80 chains within the parcel withdrawn in 1907, something that could be overlain on the U.S. Geological Survey map of the Grants Pass quadrangle printed in 1908. Acreage was calculated on the basis of a square chain being one-tenth of an acre. For more on the conventions of surveying and the implications of using the Gunter chain in such work, see Arno Linklater, *Measuring America: How the United States was Shaped by the Greatest Land Sale in American History* (New York: Plume, 2003).

53. Dean, Report on Proposed National Monument and Description of Survey with map sheet, October 23, 1908.

54. Anderson to Pinchot, October 29, 1908.

55. "The Caves of Oregon," Grants Pass *Oregon Observer*, September

19, 1906. Such vandalism is certainly implied in one article about Walter Burch's plans for a return to Josephine County on a projected trip in which he intended to obtain "a lot" of specimens to exhibit at the World's Fair held over the summer of 1905 in Portland; Glendale (Ore.) *News*, July 28, 1905. Vandalism was mentioned in one article that during Miller's visit; "Oregon Caves in National Park," Portland *Oregon Journal*, August 16, 1907. In this article Anderson had worked with Jefferson Myers (one of Miller's companions who hailed from Portland) for "several days" to locate the boundary lines of the "new park" (the four sections withdrawn) prior to the excursion.

56. Anderson, "Oregon Caves National Monument," report of February 1909 attached to transmittal by E.T. Allen, District Forester, who wrote to the Forester (Henry S. Graves), June 19, 1909.

57. It remains the smallest area that is predominately "natural" within the National Park System, save for Timpanogas Cave National Monument in Utah.

58. Anderson to the District Forester (E.T. Allen), February 10, 1909.

59. Gilbert Thompson, Map of the State of Oregon showing the Classification of Lands and Forests [1900], included with Gannett, *The Forests of Oregon*.

60. Section 2, An Act for the preservation of American antiquities, June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. 225).

61. A draft proclamation was submitted by H.O. Stabler on February 16, 1909, presumably to the district forester; C.J. Buck to the Forester, January 13, 1931. This and other papers were then conveyed to Washington; E.T. Allen to the Forester, March 1, 1909.

62. Pinchot quoted by David A. Clary, *Timber and the Forest Service* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 22.

63. For more about Pinchot's publicity campaign, see Jeff LaLande, "The 'Forest Ranger' in Popular Fiction," *Forest History Today* (Spring/Fall 2003), 2-28.

64. William G. Robbins, *The Oregon Environment: Development vs. Preservation, 1905-1950* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1975), 8-9. A shortened version of this discussion is in Robbins, *Landscapes of Promise: the Oregon Story, 1900-1940* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 240.

65. Teal to Pinchot, June 21, 1909.

66. Overton W. Price to Teal, July 6, 1909.

67. E.T. Allen to Pinchot, June 19, 1909. Watson wrote a self-published regional travelogue that included Oregon Caves which put forth the case for a prehistoric Siskiyou "island" somewhat in line with what



Thomas Condon had taught about the state's geology, whereby the Blue Mountains and the Siskiyou Mountains had roughly similar orogenies but had been separated by as yet little understood forces. Watson's book appeared in January 1909 and may have helped justify the proclamation's description of the cave as being of "unusual scientific interest and importance," though little in the way of references had yet appeared in contemporary scientific literature; Watson, *Prehistoric Siskiyou Island and the Marble Halls of Oregon*. Reports from the Oregon Conservation Commission did not mention the Oregon Caves until 1911, when it provided a short acknowledgment of Watson's role in the proclamation; see *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 20 (1919), 400.

68. Anderson to E.T. Allen, June 18, 1909.

69. Miller, "Oregon's Marble Halls," *Sunset* 23:3 (September 1909), 227-235. His nickname for the cave, "The Marble Halls of Oregon" had already been pitched, starting with news accounts of the excursion in 1907; "Oregon Cave is wonderful place," Portland *Oregonian*, August 15, 1907, and "The Wonderful Cave of Oregon," Jacksonville *Times*, August 24, 1907. The nickname was also used by W.L. Grissley in "Oregon Caves Rivals the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky," Portland *Oregonian*, July 19, 1908, and again in "The Marble Halls of Oregon," *Pacific Outlook*, August 1, 1908. The trip in 1907 was entirely aimed at generating publicity, as Watson and Miller were accompanied by Jefferson Myers, a man Miller credited with being the leading organizer of the Lewis & Clark Exposition (World's Fair) of 1905 held in Portland. Their guides, Frank Nickerson and John Kincaid, harkened back to earlier attempts to develop the cave. Nickerson, however, actively disassociated himself from Smith's enterprise in the 1890s; Watson, *Prehistoric Siskiyou Island and the Marble Halls of Oregon*, 134.

70. Taft, proclamation 876, July 12, 1909.

71. Frank Bond, chief clerk at the GLO, wrote all 28 proclamations according to Hal Rothman in *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 81. In this case, however, Bond must have simply revised the existing Forest Service draft.

72. "Marble Halls are Reserved," Portland *Oregon Journal*, July 15, 1909. Accounts of the Ellis tragedy are notable for being melodramatic; "Frank Ellis shoots himself," Grants Pass *Oregon Observer*, August 4, 1909; "Widow Mourns beside her Dead," Portland *Oregonian*, August 4, 1909; "A Terrible Tragedy in Depths of Oregon Caves," Grants Pass *Courier*, August 6, 1909; and Cornelia Templeton Jewett, "Woman's Bravery put to Awful Test," *The Woman's National Daily*, September 25, 1909, 9-10.

73. Guides were usually obtained at either Williams or Kerby, depending upon which route was selected. Some Josephine County residents like those in the Ellis Party, however, chose to bring their own gear over the trails improved by the Forest Service that led to the cave.

74. C.J. Buck, acting chief of operations, to Anderson, July 13, 1909.

75. Cooper, History of the Siskiyou National Forest, 4.

76. R.L. Glisan, a prominent Portland dentist and member of the Mazamas (a climbing group started by Steel) wrote to the commission's chairman, J.N. Teal, about the cave in September 1910. Teal, who had earlier contacted Pinchot with Watson's endorsement of the monument proclamation, forwarded a letter about what Glisan saw during his visit. One formation had been badly splintered by souvenir hunters who left pieces of it on the floor, an observation later reported by the state's largest newspaper along with the Forest Service intention to hire someone to protect the monument; Glisan to Teal, September 24, 1910; Teal to District Forester, September 26, 1910; Charles H. Flory, Acting District Forester, to R.L. Fromme, Forest Supervisor, October 27, 1910; C.S. Chapman, District Forester, to Teal, November 26, 1910; "Siskiyou Caves to be Protected," Portland *Oregonian*, December 4, 1910.

77. This may well constitute the first instance of "interpretation" in a national park or monument funded through Congressional appropriation, but due to the fact it came through the Forest Service does not appear to be considered a precedent by those affiliated with the NPS; C. Frank Brockman, "Park Naturalists and the Evolution of National Park Service Interpretation through World War II," *Journal of Forest History* 22:1 (January 1978), 24-43.

78. Fromme to District Forester, August 29, 1911.

79. See Clary, *Timber and the Forest Service*, 3-28.

80. Beckham, Cultural Resource Overview, 96.

81. "Caves line is planned," Portland *Oregonian*, February 2, 1911; "Caves line is aided," Portland *Oregonian*, February 4, 1911.

82. A photo of the terminus at Waters Creek is in Len Ramp and Norman Peterson, *Geological and Mineral Resources of Josephine County, Oregon*, Bulletin 100, Department of Geology and Mineral Industries (Salem: State Printer, 1979), 32.

83. Anderson to Fromme, February 9, 1912; Fromme to Anderson, February 13, 1912. The application was in the name of T. H. Johnson of Portland; Henry S. Graves (chief forester) to Rep. William C. Hawley, April 1, 1912.

84. George H. Cecil, District Forester, to Graves, March 1, 1912; "Tourist Hotel may soon rise at the Josephine Caves," Grants Pass

*Courier*, March 21, 1912; James B. Adams, Assistant Forester, to Cecil, April 2, 1912; "Desire fee to enter caves," Grants Pass *Courier*, April 8, 1912. In a somewhat conciliatory move, Fromme appointed Richard Sowell as the forest guard at the cave for 1912, also granting a special use permit for his wife to furnish tent lodgings and meals on national forest land just outside the monument; "Welcome Visitors to the Oregon Caves," Grants Pass *Courier*, June 13, 1912.

85. "National Park Projected," Portland *Oregonian*, July 8, 1912; Fromme to District Forester, July 9, 1912.

86. These were Saddle Mountain in Clatsop County and Humbug Mountain in Curry County. Neither successfully garnered that designation, though both later became units in the state park system; for Saddle Mountain, see "Formation of National Park," Astoria *Budget*, January 23, 1912; "Amended Bill Passes," Astoria *Astorian*, March 23, 1912.

87. For the text of these bills see Catherine Franks, et al (comps.), *Legislative History of Oregon Caves National Monument*, NPS regional library, Seattle, 1986, volume 1, 11-16. The rationale is described in "Oregon Caves National Park," Grants Pass *Courier*, January 17, 1913.

88. Cecil to MacDuff, January 13, 1913; MacDuff to Cecil, January 16, 1913. Only 250 people visited the monument during the 1912 season.

89. C.J. Buck to MacDuff, January 17, 1913; MacDuff to Cecil, January 18, 1913.

90. *The Josephine County Caves: A Magnificent Labyrinth of Halls Located Near Grants Pass, Oregon* [1913], booklet on file at the Southern Oregon Historical Society, Jacksonville.

91. "Mazamas off to Marble Caves," Grants Pass *Courier*, May 30, 1913; "Mazamas Return from Caves," Grants Pass *Courier*, June 6, 1913; "Mazamas Resolve," Grants Pass *Courier*, July 18, 1913. A summary of the trip is in Mary Henthorne, "The Oregon Caves," *Mazama* 4:2 (December 1913), 57-60. The Cave Day event was summarized by Cleaveland Hilson, "Celebrate Josephine Cave Day: First Annual Observance is a Success," Grants Pass *Courier*, June 21, 1914.

92. Graves saw facilities at Oregon Caves as the needed precursor to future development of the Siskiyou National Forest; Graves to District Forester, September 4, 1913; "Resolution" by the GPCC, October 15, 1913; C.J. Buck to Graves, October 22, 1913.

93. This began in earnest with an endorsement prior to introduction of the park bills; "Hotel Men Want Road to Caves," Grants Pass *Courier*, November 22, 1912.

94. "Caves to be exploited," Portland *Oregonian*, February 13, 1914.

95. Joseph N. Teal, et al., *Third Annual Report of the Oregon*

*Conservation Commission* (Salem: State Printer, 1910), 35.

96. One example among the many contemporary proposals that failed was a proposed road to Mount Ashland from the Rogue Valley, where a congressman from Oregon asked for \$13,500; "A Highway for Mt. Ashland," *Ashland Tidings*, January 22, 1912.

97. Work began that summer under the direction of the Army Corps of Engineers, who used a specifically earmarked portion of a much larger appropriation aimed at Yellowstone for their work at Crater Lake. Steel supported national park status for Oregon Caves, citing the need for facilities and development there; "Crater Lake National Park," *Grants Pass Courier*, June 13, 1913.

98. "State cannot build road to Crater Lake," *Portland Oregon Journal*, February 15, 1910; "The Crater Lake Decision," *Medford Mail Tribune*, February 13, 1910. Supporters in Jackson County then raised funds for construction through private subscriptions, but the small amount of seed money meant that Medford still looked to the state for additional funds. By 1911 the governor assigned convicts to construction work in order for the project to continue with county funds. An editorial in the Medford paper supported national park status for Oregon Caves, but made mention of the "local affair" ruling in its appeal for state aid in building a road to the cave; "A new national park," *Medford Mail Tribune*, January 14, 1913.

99. Robert W. Hadlow, Columbia River Highway National Historic Landmark nomination, Oregon Department of Transportation, February 4, 2000, 59-60. The number of cars cited is something of a midpoint during a five-year surge; in 1910 the number totaled only 2,500, but increased to 23,585 by 1915; George Kramer, "The Pacific Highway in Oregon," *Oregon Heritage* 1:4 (Winter/Spring 1995), 5.

100. Hadlow, Columbia River Highway nomination, 60. The highway served as impetus because it originated in Multnomah County, where the state's largest city, Portland, grew from 46,000 in 1890 to 207,000 residents by 1910. Railroad tycoon and good roads advocate Sam Hill provided the spark for a highway commission by inviting the entire legislature to his estate on the Washington side of the Columbia), where he built demonstration roads complete with hard surfacing.

101. Kramer, "The Pacific Highway in Oregon," 5-7. Josephine County had some of the worst sections, one being the route over Sexton Mountain, something not lost on the boosters who promoted bonds; "Pacific Highway and Better Roads," *Grants Pass Courier*, May 16, 1913.

102. "Plan road to caves from Illinois Valley," *Medford Mail Tribune*, June 25, 1914.

103. The Josephine County tax levy in 1908 was some 14 mills, with roads receiving 2 mills; Grants Pass *Courier*, January 10, 1908; "National Forests as aid in the building of roads," Portland *Oregon Journal*, October 11, 1914. A subsequent news article made note that Graves estimated in 1914 that roads adjacent to timber greatly affected the stumpage value of "ripe" trees, as that time estimated to be some 31 billion board feet on the national forests of northern California and southern Oregon.

104. The Caves Camp Company built a tent "city" at the confluence of Sucker, Cave, and Grayback creeks as of July 31, 1914 and competed with the Three Creeks Camp on Sucker Creek, Grants Pass *Courier*, July 31 1914. By 1915 a furnished camp on the Williams side had appeared, one with wood floor tents and beds. Horses could also be furnished at "Caves Camp" for the trip; Grants Pass *Courier*, July 16, 1915.

105. "Hawley working for Oregon Caves," Medford *Mail Tribune*, December 29, 1915.

### 3. Boosterism's Public-Private Partnership

1. Most famously articulated by Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier to American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), 189-227. Turner's thesis has fueled more debate among historians in the United States than any other single piece of writing in American historiography; see, for example, Richard W. Etulain (comp.), *Does the Frontier Experience make America Exceptional?* (Boston: Bedford/ St. Martins, 1999).

2. LaLande, "The 'Forest Ranger' in Popular Fiction," 2-28.

3. Stephen J. Pyne, *Tending Fires: Coping with America's Wildland Fires* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2004), 88-90.

4. Cover inscription of *American Motorist* magazine (4:8, August 1912) used to illustrate an article by David Cole, "Magazines for Early Motorists," *Society for Commercial Archeology Journal* (Spring 1996), 6-11.

5. Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 138-140.

6. The act was passed on July 11, 1916; Program Management Function, State of California, Department of Public Works, Some Historical Information Concerning Federal Aid for Highways, June 1972, 1-2. In addition to triggering the creation of the Oregon State Highway Department, the legislation also led to the transformation of the Portland

Auto Club (organized in 1905) into the Oregon State Motor Association as of December 16, 1916 so that the entity might produce the first signs and maps for automobilists; History of Automobile Club of Oregon, January 1977, typescript, 2.

7. B.J. Finch, Acting District Engineer, to J.S. Bright, Senior Highway Engineer, September 18, 1917.

8. "Building of the Highway to the Josephine Caves has been ordered," Grants Pass *Courier*, November 21, 1919. The legislation became known as the Post Office Act of February 28, 1919. Figures are in David G. Havlick, "Behind the Wheel: A look back at public land roads," *Forest History Today* (Spring 2002), 12.

9. The job required 95,000 cubic yards of excavation (much of it side hill) and 100,000 pounds of dynamite to remove rocks. Funding for the \$126,000 grading contract was split between the state highway commission and the Forest Service, with entire job coming to roughly \$152,000; J.A. Elliott, Senior Highway Engineer to the BPR district engineer, September 9, 1921. This figure differs from the total of \$205,000 cited in the state highway commission's biennial report for 1921-22 (p. 339) which also mentions that separate contracts were awarded to C. Frank Rhodes and White Brown & Leahy Company. The funding formula dictated that two units of road be constructed; one between Robinson's Corner and the forest boundary (roughly MP 6 and MP11), whereas the other was completely within the Siskiyou National Forest.

10. "Opening road to marble cave celebrated," Medford *Mail Tribune*, June 21, 1922. Actual completion did not come until October 2. The visitation figure for the 1922 season is from the biennial report of the Oregon State Highway Commission (Salem: State Printer, 1922), 341. District Forester C.J. Buck gave the visitation figure for 1921 in an article published a decade later as 1,100. Buck also made the point that the Oregon Caves Highway was funded as "recreation road" funded by an appropriation that stipulated a cooperative effort with the state highway department; Buck, "Forest Recreation in Oregon and Washington," *The Oregon Motorist* (August 1931), 15.

11. Oregon State Highway Commission, *Fifth Biennial Report* (1921-22), 340.

12. O.S. Blanchard to C.H. Pursell, BPR, May 31, 1924; Roy A. Klein, OSHD, to Pursell, June 7, 1924. Boosters in California had previously dubbed what is now U.S. 101 from San Francisco to Crescent City "the Redwood Highway" and agreed with compatriots in Oregon on the desirability of extending that designation to Grants Pass; John Robinson, "The Redwood Highway," *California Highways and Public Works* 43

(June-July 1964), 2-11. Federal aid monies continued to increase during this period, with major legislation passed in 1921 and 1925.

13. The Oregon Caves post office in Caves City was created on July 30, 1924; Maynard C. Drowson, "Oregon's Own Marble Halls," *Salem Capital Journal*, June 15, 1968, 1. The importance of Oregon's gasoline tax in financing the state's highways is described in Lawrence C. Merriam, Jr., *Oregon's Highway Park System* (Salem: State Printer, 1992), 262.

14. "Caves Highway Widening Necessary," Grants Pass *Courier*, September 9, 1926; "Caravan Urges Widening for Caves Highway," Grants Pass *Courier*, October 14, 1926. Surfacing with gravel took place on the Oregon Caves Highway in 1925 over the first 12 miles, at about the time that contractors graded the Redwood Highway between its junction with the Caves Highway and Waldo; S.H. Probert, State Highway Work in Southern Oregon, December 9, 1925, in OSHD, 76A-90, AD-1 General Correspondence 1925, Box 29, Oregon State Archives, Salem.

15. Unlike the earlier project, this was done by day labor instead of a contract due to relatively small yearly allotments of around \$15,000; H.D. Farmer to A.B. Lewellen, February 2, 1927, and W.H. Lynch to L.I. Hewes, January 30, 1929. This work also included straightening the most dangerous curves, especially as more funding became available; "Caves Road Shovel Progressing Rapidly," Grants Pass *Courier*, April 6, 1928.

16. "Traveling Oregon's Highways and By-ways," *Oregon Highways*, March 12, 1927. Some boosters such as Grants Pass attorney O.S. Blanchard stressed the road's importance in lowering freight rates to San Francisco, especially if work in the Illinois Valley was completed; Blanchard to Roy Klein, State Highway Engineer, April 1, 1926, with attachment from the Grants Pass *Courier*, "Freight Rates to S.F. Cut Via Redwood Route," OSHD, 76A-90, AD-1 General Correspondence 1926, Box 29, File 100-05, Oregon State Archives, Salem.

17. "Caves attraction to receive much needed attention," *Medford Mail Tribune*, March 1, 1929; H.D. Farmer to files, March 28, 1929. By the end of 1929 most of the road had been widened to 16 feet; Oregon Caves Forest Road Project 13-A3B2 completion report, 1.

18. "Work on Caves Road Complete," Grants Pass *Bulletin*, August 21, 1931, and "Paving to Caves now Completed, Dustless," Grants Pass *Bulletin*, September 11, 1931. Reports differ as to how wide the completed road was, with some suggesting that the paved surface was as much as 18 feet; E.P. Leavitt to [NPS] Regional Director, May 26, 1945.

19. A campaign conducted largely in Jackson County from 1926 to 1929 clamored for a road to link the Oregon Caves with Medford via Williams, an effort that failed in the face of reluctant local taxpayers (who

voted against forming a road district) and the Forest Service; "Caves Route to be voted upon," Jackson County *News*, January 8, 1926, February 5, 1926, and February 19, 1926; "Caves Road in under eye of Forest Bureau," Medford *Mail Tribune*, September 30, 1927; "Meeting called for Caves Road Advocacy," Medford *Mail Tribune*, January 30, 1929; "Caves Road will be discussed at Medford Meeting," Medford *Mail Tribune*, February 14, 1929.

20. "Honey Combed Mountain of Southern Oregon Filled with Marvels of Nature's Art," Grants Pass *Courier*, Travelogue, June 1931.

21. Most hotels, originally cited in city centers next to rail stations, did not possess their own parking lots until World War II or later. Parking on the street was generally prohibited, so garages (often located some distance from a hotel) were a requirement for travelers using automobiles. For more about the evolution toward auto camping in southwest Oregon, see Steve Mark, "Save the Auto Camps!" *Southern Oregon Heritage* 3:4 (1998), 29-32.

22. Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: from Auto Camp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1979), 77.

23. The demand for camping directly corresponded to increases in automobile ownership. One million Americans owned cars in 1912, a figure that increased 15 fold in eleven years. It jumped another four million in 1924, a year when five million automobiles took their occupants to campgrounds. Such surges placed demands on the system most states used, where motorists had to register their cars when they crossed state lines, but also increased the potential for privately run campgrounds with or without cabins; "More Time Urged for Auto Permits," Portland *Oregonian*, February 21, 1926.

24. Attendance at the Grants Pass Auto Camp, which was located adjacent to Riverside Park, reached 5,200 cars that year; Jack Sutton, *110 Years with Josephine*, 205.

25. Norman Hayner, "Auto Camps in the Evergreen Playground," *Social Forces* 9:1 (October 1930), 256-266.

26. Cabins in commercial camps were generally kept small (12 feet wide and from 12 to 16 feet long), separated from other cabins compartments for cars, though this was not always the case. Although "kitchenettes" could sometimes be found in the early cabins, showers and toilets were usually located in a central bath house. Resort cabins, by contrast, generally featured more amenities and had plumbing; Mark, "Save the Auto Camps!"

27. William C. Tweed, *Recreational Site Planning and Improvement in National Forests, 1891- 1942*, Publication FS-354 (Washington, DC:



Government Printing Office, 1980), 4. The park encompassed waterfalls on the Oregon side and administered by the Forest Service in conjunction with parks established by the city of Portland. The secretary's declaration appeared to be a way of blunting a national park proposal centered on Mount Hood, a bill that if enacted would have resulted in a land transfer to the Department of the Interior.

28. Tweed, *Recreational Site Planning*, 13.

29. Siskiyou National Forest, Oregon Caves Recreation Area, survey map of December 1922. The map shows a camp area with notation indicating the Congressional authorization, OCNM map files. The urgency for such legislation was evidently provided by the highway which vastly increased visitation at Oregon Caves. One writer suggested that at least some of the area was already in use as an auto camp during the summer of 1922; this appears as a glancing reference in "The Mystic Caves of Oregon," *The Oregon Motorist* 3:3 (August 1923), 6.

30. E.H. MacDaniels to District Forester, September 11, 1923, 2. Supervisor MacDaniels characterized demand as so heavy that a septic tank and possibly flush toilets were needed, in addition to a larger campground and more roadwork at the site. Initial construction, according to an earlier estimate, was to cost \$1,830, almost one-third of the entire campground appropriation.

31. C.J. Buck, "Forest Recreation in Oregon and Washington," *The Oregon Motorist* (August 1931), 7-19.

32. USDA-Forest Service, North Pacific District, *Road and Information Map for the National Forests of Oregon* (GPO: 1923). These maps continued to be printed on an annual basis through the 1930s.

33. USDA-Forest Service, North Pacific District, *An Ideal Vacationland: the National Forests in Oregon* (GPO: 1923).

34. Steve Mark, "Thinking Like a Park," *Wilderness Journal* 1:1 (September 1989), 8-11. By the end of Greeley's tenure as chief in 1928, the wilderness argument in conjunction with a conscious effort to improve public relations had resulted in the Forest Service fending off about three-quarters of the proposals for land transfers to the NPS.

35. The Forest Service promoted a "purer" form of Edenic landscape for other reasons, not least because the inheritors of eighteenth century romanticism (the prose and poetry that gave rise to the wilderness aesthetic) abhorred what they perceived as commercialism in the national parks; Thomas R. Dunlap, *Faith in Nature: Environmentalism as Religious Quest* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).

36. C.J. Buck, "Oregon's Highway Park System," undated manuscript [c. 1927], in the A.L. Peck Papers, Highway folder, Oregon State

University archives, Corvallis; also quoted by Chester Armstong, *Oregon State Parks History* (Salem: State Printer, 1965), 10.

37. V.L. Sexton, Oregon's Wildlife Resource, study by the Oregon State Planning Board, November 1936. There were a number of refuges in Oregon, as was also the case in California, where state wildlife officials thought that game species could be protected by keeping them in one area where prohibitions on hunting and fishing remained in effect. By the early 1950s, however, managers in both states had found that regulations in all areas proved more effective in protecting game populations, so all but the national wildlife refuges were disbanded; Gay Halland Berrien, "Trinity Game Refuge," *Trinity 1997* (Weaverville, California: Trinity County Historical Society, 1997), 34-39.

38. "Game Refuge," Grants Pass *Courier*, April 10, 1926. One writer linked a deer which ate candy provided by visitors to the refuge, where carrying a gun was not allowed; Sandy Grant, "Jimmie Deer," Philadelphia *Queen's Gardens*, January 22, 1927. A tame deer fit the Edenic ideal exemplified by the landscape gardens, as did the role of Dick Rowley as solitary hermit and gardener, who also supposedly allowed deer to sleep on his bed.

39. Forest Service officials stressed publicly that national forest facilities were not intended to compete with those in national and state parks, but rather supplement what was available within a state or region; Buck, "Forest Recreation in Oregon and Washington," 18.

40. Munger was accompanied by one of the potential applicants for a permit on the inspection trip; Munger to Cecil, May 2, 1917, 9. The solicitor's opinion was referenced in a letter from E.A. Sherman to Cecil, January 15, 1917, 1. The Term Occupancy Act served as an impetus for recreational developments elsewhere in the national forests; Tweed, *Recreational Site Planning*, 3-4.

41. N.F. MacDuff to District Forester, January 25, 1917, 1. Additional details are in "Old Attire Needed for Visit to Caves," Portland *Oregonian*, July 15, 1917, 10. Another source is Hamilton M. Laing, "By Motor and Mule to the Marble Halls," *Sunset* (November 1917), 74-80. The author's great aunt rode a horse to Oregon Caves that summer on one of her weekends when employed as the home extension agent for Jackson and Josephine counties; Dawna Curler, "Anne McCormick: A Modern Lady for Modern Times—One Woman's Influence on Southern Oregon's Home Extension," *Southern Oregon Heritage Today* 8:4 (Autumn 2005), 8-10.

42. E.H. MacDaniels, Report on Oregon Caves, February 14, 1920, 1; "Information for Tourists who desire to visit Oregon Caves," Grants

Pass *Courier*, July 30, 1919. Many of the campers used the terrace sometimes called "Government Camp," now the site of the Chalet.

43. Buck to MacDaniels, February 20, 1920; P.G. Guthrie Memorandum, October 15, 1921, 2.

44. Buck to MacDaniels, October 21, 1921; January 14, 1922; April 24, 1922.

45. MacDaniels to District Forester, April 27, 1922; "Caves Camp ready in June," Grants Pass *Courier*, May 10, 1922; Buck to MacDaniels, September 21, 1922; O.S. Blanchard, Grants Pass Chamber of Commerce, to Buck, December 18, 1922.

46. MacDaniels to District Forester, January 19, 1922; Buck to MacDaniels, March 16, 1923. The seven stockholders were O.S. Blanchard, Frank Mashburn, Ed W. Miller, Wilford Allen, S.H. Baker, John Hampshire, and A.E. Voorhies. Sabin was to manage the resort operation.

47. USFS Special Use Permit [January 1923], 2.

48. "Forest Men Visit Oregon Caves," Portland *Oregon Journal*, June 24, 1917. Waugh did more in the way of advocacy than actual design for the Forest Service; Waugh, "Landscape Architecture in the Forests," *American Forests* 27:327 (March 1921), 143-146.

49. These styles were "picturesque and distinctive" in accordance with the Edenic ideal celebrated in American landscape architecture during that period, though they can be found in the work of Andrew Jackson Downing that served as the basis for later pattern books; Downing, *The Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (New York: Orange Judd, 1841).

50. Fred Lockley, "Impressions and Observations of the Journal Man," [interview with George Sabin], Portland *Oregon Journal*, August 17, 1936.

51. MacDaniels to District Forester, April 9, 1923, 1-2. Some sources credited Peck with the entire architectural scheme; "Construction to start soon," Grants Pass *Courier*, April 22, 1923, and E.T. Reed, "Oregon Caves are of major interest," Corvallis *Gazette-Times*, August 4, 1924, 2.

52. MacDaniels to District Forester, December 22, 1923, 2.

53. MacDaniels to Buck, September 11, 1923; Buck to MacDaniels, September 19, 1923, 1-2. The company's reluctance seemed to center on the unknown market for such a hotel, especially one built within a mile of where an existing hostelry, the Lind Home Resort, already represented competition.

54. A.H. Wright, Forest Supervisor, to Sabin, October 9, 1924, 4; "The Oregon Caves are now open," *The Pacific Northwest Home* [1926].

55. The lamp house/studio was placed on a small terrace that had been previously leveled over the objections of the forest supervisor, who related how the superintendent of Crater Lake National Park did not like the idea of a detached building being so conspicuous near the cave entrance; Wright to Sabin, February 11, 1924.

56. Wright to District Forester, December 17, 1926, 1.

57. The beginning of softening the Forest Service position on developing Grayback came, ironically enough, from Buck making an allowance for replacing some of the tent houses with cottages as early as the spring of 1922; Buck to Forest Supervisor, April 24, 1922, 2. The guide dormitory was listed as being 28 feet by 16 feet with flush toilet, large enough to house 14 guides; F.W. Cleator memorandum for Lands, July 9, 1927, 1.

58. J.H. Billingslea, Forest Supervisor, to District Forester, February 28, 1928, 1.

59. Buck to Forest Supervisor, April 29, 1922, 1.

60. Wright to District Forester, December 10, 1925, 2.

61. Ladder replacement occurred during the seasons of 1921 and 1922; Cecil to Chief Forester, January 13, 1923, 2; L.J. Cooper, History of the Siskiyou National Forest, IV-25, 29. Work to widen passageways was ongoing, though a newspaper article from early 1920 mentioned that material removed from floors or ceilings was often dumped into "pits" within the cave. These areas were judged to have "no scenic value," and served to obviate the need to take the "waste" outside; "Forestry officials make winter trip to Josephine Caves and Plan Improvements," *Oregon Observer*, January 21, 1920. Improvements to the trails within and to the monument were also counted, though the forest supervisor stated that they would have been made irregardless due to the necessity for fire control access; Wright to District Forester, December 10, 1925, 1.

62. The effects of candle drippings were mentioned by Buck in a letter to Forest Supervisor MacDaniels, October 26, 1921. Some vandals preferred to scratch their initials on formations then "smoke" them with carbide lanterns, a practice that the Forest Service wanted to halt by installing electric lights; "Defacing the Oregon Caves," *Coquille Sentinel*, September 8, 1922.

63. A.M. Swartley, Oregon Bureau of Mines, and E.H. MacDaniels, Lighting Plan, Oregon Caves, November 20, 1920; Swartley to Henry M. Parks, Oregon Bureau of Mines, April 19, 1921; MacDaniels to the Chief Forester, July 14, 1921; MacDaniels, Memorandum for the Grants Pass Chamber of Commerce, January 25, 1922.

64. Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, to George W. Norris, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, February 18, 1924.

65. "Deficiency Bill provides \$35,000 for Oregon Caves," *Portland Oregonian*, February 18, 1930. The legislation simply authorized the appropriation which was later attached to a bill enacted in March 1930; "All of funds for scrubbing Oregon Caves," *Medford Mail Tribune*, April 7, 1930. The Forest Service logic resembled the reasoning behind reclamation projects, though the agency's interest in self-supporting national monuments went back to at least 1925; L.F. Kneipp, Assistant Forester, to District Forester, December 1, 1925. Passage of the bill could also be attributed to the Hoover Administration being more amenable to special appropriations for national parks and monuments than previous Republican administrations; Kneipp to District Forester, October 8, 1929. Wording of the act was attached to a letter from Kneipp to the District Forester, March 13, 1929. The company immediately objected to the "pass through" provision, fearing that the six percent of tour fees charged might endanger profitability given how the country had since slipped into the Great Depression; Sam H. Baker to McNary, October 14, 1930; R.Y. Stuart, Chief Forester, to McNary, November 26, 1930.

Officials in the Forest Service noted that the well-publicized report by an independent "Mount Hood Committee" (a group commissioned by the Secretary of Agriculture to recommend ways for recreational development could proceed in the national forest surrounding Oregon's highest peak) backed the idea of imposing fees on users based on the amount of money invested by the government; John D. Guthrie, Acting District Forester, to the Chief Forester, November 21, 1930. He referenced F.L. Olmsted, Jr., et al., *Public Values of the Mount Hood Area*, Senate Document 164 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1930). As something of a postscript, McNary opposed requiring the concession to maintain improvements financed by the appropriation and felt that fees for guide service should be lowered so as to not allow the concession to "profit unduly by reason of the outlays of federal funds." The concession was not required to pay for the cave lighting financed by the federal government (nor were guide fees lowered), in part because Sabin told McNary that work toward building a \$50,000 hotel (the Chateau) would necessarily cease if the company had to pay back the \$35,000 appropriation for lights.

66. F.V. Horton, Assistant District Forester, to District Forester, April 26, 1930, 1. Forest Service support for this project arose in 1927, when the company's head guide, Dick Rowley, pointed out a need to wash mud from the cave; J.H. Billingslea, Memorandum of Inspection, July 14, 1927. This concern was likely based on how the Edenic ideal did not include dirty formations and inconvenience to visitors.

67. H.J. Weil, Memorandum for the Assistant to the Solicitor, April 10, 1930. Building another structure seemed least desirable to the Forest Service at the time, but later proved useful as a backup generator during power outages. Adding transformer near the Chalet was part of building the power plant; Charles W. Gowan to James Franklin, June 14, 1930.

68. The earliest survey somewhat approximated the chosen route; Wright to R.W. Rowley, September 16, 1926. A need for the tunnel to accommodate 400 people per day was mentioned in the memorandum of inspection by Billingslea, July 19, 1927. Billingslea mentioned this number again in a letter to the district forester, July 3, 1929.

69. "Forest Service makes survey of Oregon Caves," Grants Pass *Bulletin*, March 21, 1930; [Siskiyou National Forest Lands Division], Proposed Improvements – Oregon Caves, March 28, 1930. The profile was titled "Oregon Caves Exit Tunnel," [1930], one sheet.

70. Some officials in the Forest Service preferred day labor over contracts because of the uncertainties that could be encountered underground; Buck to the Chief Forester, May 24, 1930, 2. Details about the tunnel's construction are in Bruce Muirhead, The History of Oregon Caves Exit Tunnel Construction, October 1985, and are based on an extended interview with one of the Forest Service engineers, Keith Wells.

71. Cleator, Memorandum for Lands, July 9, 1927, 2.

72. The Forest Service seemed to give up on the company making any additional investments at Grayback in 1925. Sabin, however, waited another three years to bring up the subject of a hotel at the monument; Sabin to Buck, December 1, 1928. What appears to have prompted the meeting with Billingslea was a letter from company president Sam Baker to District Forester C.M. Granger, August 6, 1929.

73. Billingslea to District Forester, September 3, 1929, 1. Billingslea also mentioned that Peck suggested additional cabins might be built at two new sites: above the service road to No Name Creek and above the road connecting the main parking area with the Chalet.

74. Forest Service officials expressed concern about the intertwining of permits beginning in October 1929; Buck to Forest Supervisor, October 2, 1929, and Granger to the Chief Forester, October 3, 1929. C.J. Buck subsequently indicated that the hotel would not have been built without the substantial public subsidy made under the auspices of the Forest Service; Buck to the Chief Forester, January 9, 1931. Most of the terms on the 20 year permit had been drafted by June 1, 1931, so the stockholders felt confident in paying for construction materials delivered to the monument so that work could begin in October; "Oregon Caves visited by 28,000 this year," Grants Pass *Bulletin*, October 23, 1931.

75. Sabin to Billingslea, February 12, 1931; Billingslea to Regional Forester, March 9, 1931; F.V. Horton to Forest Supervisor, April 2, 1931. The Forest Supervisor also noted that gas station attendants could prevent auto theft and police the grounds, especially when heavy visitation demanded economizing with parking space; Billingslea, Report on Special Use Application, [1931], 1.

76. "Oregon Caves Elect Officers, Offer Stock," Grants Pass *Bulletin*, January 15, 1932; G.E. Mitchell, Forest Supervisor, to Regional Forester, March 2, 1932, 2, and June 23, 1932, 1-2.

77. Oregon Caves National Monument Development Outline, Utilities, January 1945, 3; the full dimension are in Estimated Cost of Water System, OCNM, September 1949, 1, but the dates of construction are incorrect.

78. Ernest W. Peterson, "New Chalet planned at state cave," Portland *Oregon Journal*, July 31, 1931, Section 6, 1; "Beautiful New Lodge at Caves Near Completion," Medford *Mail Tribune*, August 19, 1932; "Builds Fireplace at Caves Resort," Crescent City *Del Norte Triplicate*, [summer] 1932. As part of publicizing their venture, the company eagerly furnished Lium's perspective drawing which overlaid a photographic backdrop to newspapers and prospective investors; Lium, Perspective Oregon Caves "Chateau," Now Under Construction, [1931].

79. Mitchell to Regional Forester, June 13, 1932; F.V. Horton to Mitchell, June 24, 1932.

80. Albright to Newton B. Drury, Save-the-Redwoods League, September 21, 1931. This may have been prompted by Albright's mother and brother visiting Oregon Caves earlier in the summer; Albright to Sabin, May 2, 1933.

81. Toll to Albright, February 6, 1932, attached to inspection report of visit made on October 19, 1931. Sabin to Buck, April 15, 1933.

82. Albright to Sabin, May 2, 1933; Sabin to Albright, May 8, 1933.

83. Executive Order 6166, June 10, 1933; text is in USDI-NPS, *Laws Related to the National Park Service* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1944), 203-205.

84. The only record of the conference is in an oral history interview with Leon Kneipp conducted by Amelia Fry and others from the Regional Oral History Office at the Bancroft Library in Berkeley during 1964-65. Apparently Kneipp felt he reached an agreement with Arno Cammerer and Arthur Demaray that the NPS would take only three or four of the 16, a position subsequently overruled by Albright—though the director did not inform chief forester R.Y. Stuart of this. According to Kneipp, Stuart did not object to the executive order's provision about national

monuments because he thought a gentleman's agreement had been reached; Kneipp interview, "Land Planning and Acquisition, U.S. Forest Service," 78. For additional background about the interaction between the two agencies during this period, see Hal K. Rothman, "A Regular Ding – Dong Fight," *Agency Culture and Evolution in the NPS – USFS Dispute, 1916-1937*, *Western Historical Quarterly* 20:2 (May 1989), 141-161.

85. The 16 national monuments included Chiricahuya (Arizona), Devil's Postpile (California), Gila Cliff Dwelling (New Mexico), Holy Cross (Colorado), Jewel Cave (South Dakota), Lava Beds (California), Lehman Cave (Nevada), Mount Olympus (Washington), Old Kasaan (Alaska), Saguaro (Arizona), Sunset Crater (Arizona), Timpanogos Cave (Utah), Tonto (Arizona), Walnut Canyon (Arizona), Wheeler (Colorado) and Oregon Caves: USDI press release, April 1, 1934.

86. Mitchell to Regional Forester, September 5, 1934, with attachment titled "Administrative Statistics, Oregon Caves National Monument in Siskiyou National Forest, same date: Kneipp to Regional Forester, October 1, 1934; F.V. Horton to Mitchell, October 8, 1934.

#### 4. Improving a Little Landscape Garden

1. Stephanie Ross, *What Gardens Mean* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 57.

2. These landscape features naturally had a place in classical gardens; see John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600-1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 11-14.

3. There is a rich literature about the cultural perception of nature and how it developed during this period; see, for example, Paul Shepard, *Man in the Landscape: A Historic View of the Esthetics of Nature* (New York: Knopf, 1967); and Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998).

4. Susan Lasdun, *The English Park: Royal, Private, and Public* (New York: Vendome Press, 1992), 135-186.

5. John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 31-48.

6. Examples include the Petrified Gardens, Banana Grove, Paradise Lost, Neptune's Grotto, Niagara Falls, Bird of Paradise, and many more.

7. Nelson Macduff, Forest Supervisor, to District Forester, January 26, 1917, 7.

8 Bruce Muirhead, Names "Created" by Dick Rowley, and A History



of the Names Used in the Past and Present Along the Present Tour Route, both September 1985, OCNM files.

9. "Dick Rowley – Original Cave Man," Grants Pass *Courier*, June 23, 1922.

10. The "practical hermit" persona came across in a number of news articles about Rowley and information distributed by the concessionaire; see, for example, Oregon Caves Resort, Dick Rowley and the Oregon Caves [1936], Rowley file, OCNM.

11. Transcription of Rowley's tour dated August 1934 with notes by Bruce Muirhead, July 1984. For more about how the route changed once the exit tunnel was completed, see Muirhead, A History of the Development of the Oregon Caves Tour Route, September 1985, OCNM files.

12. F.V. Horton, Memorandum for the District Forester, April 20, 1930, 2.

13. Horton memorandum, 3. Planning for colored lights started in 1927, when the company first expressed its desire for such effects; F.W. Cleator, Memorandum for Lands, July 9, 1927, 1. Some guides during the 1930s and 40s chose to provide the lighting effect of Dante's Inferno at the "balcony" above the Ghost Room, prior to their tour party entering the exit tunnel; Bud Breitmayer to the author, April 29, 2006, 2.

14. Seatic wax candles were used in caves and elsewhere for illumination from 1860 or so until roughly 1917, when carbide lamps superceded them. Carbide lamps (or acetylene lanterns, as they were sometimes called) went into commercial production about two decades after their invention in 1897.

15. Ernest W. Peterson, "Underground Caverns Made More Beautiful by Scientific Lighting," Portland *Oregon Journal*, March 13, 1938, 6; Francis G. Lange, Resident Landscape Architect, to [NPS] Chief Architect, September 25 to October 25, 1937, 1-2.

16. "Oregon Caves Floodlighting Plan Complete," Portland *Oregon Journal*, November 19, 1937.

17. George Whitworth, CCC project superintendent, report to Crater Lake National Park superintendent, February 9, 1935; additional detail is in Lange's reports of January 9 and March 12, 1935. The count of steps is derived from NPS documentation of the trail: Oregon Caves National Monument, The Cave Tour, April 2, 1969, 2.

18. Ernest W. Peterson, "Major Improvement Made at Oregon Caves," Portland *Oregon Journal*, April 24, 1938. For more detail about construction, see notes titled "CCC connecting tunnel" attached to a letter from John Miele, Superintendent, to John A. Ulrich, October 7, 1982. Additional detail is in the report by Lange to the Chief Architect,

April 24 to May 24, 1937, 15.

19. L.J. Cooper, History of the Siskiyou National Forest [1939], part IV, 6. The camps consisted largely of tents and were located at Selma, Agness, Mount Reuben, Rand, and Williams. Building a new ranger station on the Redwood Highway represented a permanent move for the ranger and staff of the Page Creek District. New guard stations were begun at Store Gulch and Grayback that year, though it is unclear whether these were erected with CCC funding.

20. F.V. Horton to G.E. Mitchell, April 21, 1933; Mitchell to Horton, April 23, 1933.

21. Mitchell to Regional Forester, September 5, 1934, 2. The shortage of command personnel also prevented the Forest Service from responding to Sabin's request for cleaning up debris around buildings at the monument.

22. [USDI-NPS], Justification, Spike Camp, Oregon Caves, May 1, 1934, 1.

23. Lange, Report on ECW camp nos. 1 and 2, June 1, 1934, 1-2. Doerner, Report on Oregon Caves National Monument, May 4, 1934, 6. Other NPS staff members concurred, including chief landscape architect Thomas Vint; Doerner, Monthly Report, September 25, 1934, 1.

24. Whitworth, Report for first half of fourth enrollment period, OCNM, January 18, 1935.

25. Ibid.

26. Table I, Analysis of Work Projects, Camp Oregon Caves NM-1, Fourth Enrollment Period [Spring 1935], 13-16.

27. USDI-NPS, OCNM, Development Outline: Operator Sites, Leases, Permits, January 1945, 3-4.

28. L.F. Kneipp, "Public Campgrounds in the National Forests," *American Civic Annual* 5 (1934), 61-62.

29. G.E. Mitchell, Forest Supervisor, to Regional Forester, February 8 and March 3, 1939; Cliff to Regional Forester, August 19, 1937.

30. M.M. Nelson, District Ranger, to Cliff, August 29, 1939; Cliff to Regional Forester, March 21, 1940.

31. Ernest P. Leavitt, Superintendent (of Crater Lake National Park), to Regional Director, January 15, 1940, 1-2; "Caves Camp Notes," *Medford News*, February 20, 1935. Lium's work for the Forest Service is briefly noted by B. Sam Taylor in Glenn Howell's *C.C.C. Boys Remember* (Medford: Klocker Printery, 1976), 85.

32. Projects noted in Abstract of CCC Projects, Siskiyou National Forest, by Oregon Caves CCC Camp, May 1, 1945. There is some uncertainty over the date of original construction; Stephen Dow Beckham, An

Inventory and Evaluation of the Historical Significance of the Civilian Conservation Corps buildings on the Siskiyou National Forest, 1979, 53-63; Terry West, Inventory sheet for the Cedar Guard Station, September 29, 1983. Construction of the station was noted by L.J. Cooper in 1939 as part of his compilation for the Siskiyou National Forest. There is a note about the original roof being rather flat in an analysis of CCC work during the winter of 1934-35; shoveling the station's roof was necessary to prevent the building's collapse; Table 1, Analysis of Work Projects, Camp Oregon Caves, Fourth Enrollment Period, 17.

33. This is evident in a mimeographed booklet titled "The National Park Service in the Field of Organized Camping" extracted from the 1937 yearbook of the National Conference of State Parks, *Park and Recreation Progress*, 7-9. Recreation Demonstration Areas, such as the one at Silver Falls State Park near Salem, are the clearest expressions of NPS design intent during the 1930s.

34. This effort actually started in early 1934 with assembling a booklet titled *Portfolio of Privies and Comfort Stations* as well as drawings with floor plans of selected structures built by NPS crews in the national parks. A copy of the former is lodged in the ODOT History Center, Salem, while the latter is part of the Francis G. Lange Collection in the Crater Lake National Park Museum and Archives Collections.

35. Leavitt to Regional Director, January 15, 1940. Abundant snowfall at Crater Lake usually kept enrollees there only four months, with the remaining eight to be spent at Oregon Caves. The mill site was located 1.5 miles from Cave Junction, on the Oregon Caves Highway. It was also the source of wood for signs made by the CCC at all three parks and allowed the enrollees a way to produce furniture like a conference table and benches intended for use by the NPS at Crater Lake.

36. "Water System is being installed at Oregon Caves," *Medford News*, February 12, 1935. Some of the pipe was laid along the trail to Williams, by that time known as the Oregon Caves Trail.

37. Record of Improvements, OCNM, May 1, 1945, 2-3.

38. One of the landscape architects, Armin Doerner, initially believed such a structure should be located just inside the monument boundary, above the road and accessible by a short trail; Doerner, Report on Oregon Caves National Monument, May 4, 1934, 7. Doerner, Lange, and two others subsequently decided on the other site because a residence in the parking area would have formed a monotonous line in combination with the concessionaire's service station; Lange, Report for the Month of April 1934 to the Chief, Western Division, Item IX.

39. Record of Improvements, OCNM, May 1, 1945, 1. The design

intent of all three projects is noted in Lange's field trip reports of December 17, 1935, 1-2, and March 13, 1936, 1-2.

40. Leavitt to the Director, September 13, 1940, 2; Record of Improvements, OCNM, 1. Its construction was noted in the Portland *Oregonian*, August 12, 1941, 11. Despite the moniker of "checking station," no fees were collected there.

41. The utilitarian Forest Service, by contrast, usually placed fire prevention needs over recreational pursuits, so trails tended to be more linear (and thus steeper) to reach ridge tops and other places not accessible by road. Both agencies adopted similar standards for recreational trails by the 1940s, though it took the Forest Service several decades to rebuild and realign many of its trails originally constructed for fire patrol access.

42. Frank Kittredge, Standards of Trail Construction, Office of Chief Engineer [San Francisco], October 1934. A "best practices" guide appeared in February 1937; Guy B. Arthur, *Construction of Trails* (CCC Project Training Series no. 7), Emergency Conservation Work Project Training Manual 95570.

43. Doerner, Report on Oregon Caves National Monument, May 4, 1934, 2-3.

44. Map of projects for Camp Oregon Caves, First half, Fourth Enrollment Period, in Whitworth, Narrative Report of ECW Activities, January 18, 1935.

45. Lange, Report to the Deputy Chief Architect, May 1938, 2. The project also included adding a log guardrail and some stonework; Lange, Report to the Chief Architect, July 1, 1935, 1-2.

46. Table I, Analysis of Work Projects, Fourth Enrollment Period, 5-6; Lange, Report to the Deputy Chief Architect, June 13, 1935, 2.

47. Lange, Report to the Deputy Chief Architect, June 1935, 2. The attribution to Buford is from Mark J. Pike, Forestry Comment, OCNM, November 14, 1936, 1. This link differs from the trails it connects with by being only two feet wide, something mentioned by Lange in his report to the Chief Architect, October 25 to November 25, 1937, 2.

48. Lange, report to the Chief Architect, April 17 to April 24, 1937, 4.

49. Lange, report to the Chief Architect, field trip of December 17, 1935, 2.

50. Lange, report to Chief Architect, April 24 to May 24, 1937, 3. Lange credited the chief park naturalist at Crater Lake, John Doerr, with both the Cliff Trail and No Name loop; Lange interview, February 1, 1991, 2.

51. Record of Improvements, OCNM, 1. Horses rarely, if ever, traversed this route—one whose stated intent was to provide another alterna-

tive aimed at keeping pack trains and equestrians away from the Chalet. Evidently the original intent behind the trail from the service road to No Name Creek was to provide part of a circuit where hikers could take the Lake Mountain Trail to its junction with the Limestone Trail, then descend by way of a 1.5 mile trail completed in 1938 (now abandoned) that linked the Limestone Trail with No Name Creek; Abstract of CCC Projects on the Siskiyou National Forest by the Oregon Caves CCC Camp (attached to Record of Improvements, OCNM), May 1, 1945, 1.

52. Doerner, Report on Oregon Caves National Monument, May 4, 1934, 4-5.

53. Lange to the Chief Architect, report for fourth period projects, July 25, 1935, 2.

54. Lange to the Chief Architect, report for April 24 to May 24, 1937, 2.

55. Lange to the Chief Architect, report for October 25 to November 25, 1937, 2, and report for April 8 to April 25, 1938, 2.

56. Lange, Walk and Curb, New Chateau Area, drawing 2055A, January 25, 1938, one sheet; Lange, Stone Walls, Chateau Area, drawing 2014, April 6, 1940, one sheet.

57. Sketches are referenced in Doerner, Monthly Report, August 25, 1934, 1, and Lange, Memorandum to Mr. Carnes, October 31, 1934, 1. Progress in the early landscape projects is described by: Lange to Chief, Western Division, December 13, 1934, 4; Lange to Chief Architect, January 31, 1935, 1. Detail concerning the Davidson monument hauled to Oregon Caves by one of his neighbors in Williams is in J.H. Billingslea to George Grobbin, October 21, 1929.

58. Lange to the Deputy Chief Architect, report for May 1935, 1; Lange to the Chief Architect, July 1, 1935, 1. Howard Buford, Stone Steps, Exit Trail, drawing 3003, November 14, 1934, one sheet.

59. Lange to the Deputy Chief Architect, June 13, 1935, 2; Lange to the Chief Architect, final report of July 25, 1935, 12. What species were planted is unknown, though there are photographs; Cathy Gilbert and Marsha Tolon, Cultural Landscape Report: Cultural Landscape Inventory of Oregon Caves National Monument, Winter 1992, USDI-NPS, Cultural Resources Division, Pacific Northwest Region, 38. Lange mentioned that the enrollees planted ferns around both pools; Lange interview, February 1, 1991, 3.

Douglas fir blocks were promoted as imitation paving early in the twentieth century as in "Field for Wood Blocks," *Motorland* (October 1915), 20.

60. Lange to the Chief Architect, report for April 8 to April 25,

1938, 3; Lange to the Chief Architect, report for May 25 to June 25, 1938, 6-7. He and others quickly found the recessed light less subject to damage from snow than a bracket type originally installed along the exit trail. Any such lighting was, of course, made possible by the connection with the power line from the Illinois Valley in 1938.

61. Jack B. Dodd to the Regional Director, August 5, 1940, 1; B.F. Manley to the Superintendent of Crater Lake National Park, August 9, 1940.

62. Lange to the Chief Architect, report for April 8 to April 25, 1938, 1-2; Lange to the Chief Architect, report for May 25 to June 25, 1938, 1-4. One sign was placed in the island to indicate the direction of vehicular circulation, while the other showed visitors how to reach the trail to a picnic area built by the CCC in 1936. The three Port Orford-cedar tables placed in the picnic area proved to be quite attractive so that others were made at Camp Oregon Caves and placed at Grayback Forest Camp. Some of the tables built by the CCC went as far as Crater Lake National Park and Lava Beds National Monument.

63. Lange to the Regional Landscape Architect, report for January 15-16, 1937, 2-3; Lange to the Chief Architect, report for April 17 to 24, 1937. Rationale for the Chateau walk is in Lange to the Chief Architect, report for October 25 to November 25, 1937, 2. Crater Lake superintendent Ernest Leavitt raised doubts about how feasible the walk adjacent to the Chateau might be; Leavitt to the Regional Director, January 12, 1938, 1-2.

64. E.A. Davidson to the Regional Director, September 29, 1937; E. Lowell Sumner to the Regional Director, October 1, 1937.

65. Lange to the Chief Architect, March 13, 1936, 2.

66. Lange to the Chief Architect, report for April 17 to 24, 1937, 2; Lange to the Chief Architect, report for April 24 to May 24, 1937, 4-5.

67. Motifs were not universally popular, as indicated by an editorial by Robert W. Sawyer in the Bend *Bulletin* of August 25, 1936, criticizing two built by the CCC at Crater Lake. He saw them as heavy and incongruous, like those in Bend; Sawyer to David H. Canfield, Superintendent, November 7, 1936; a letter from John C. Merriam to Sawyer on October 7, 1936, references the editorial. Sawyer was a key supporter of parks in Oregon at the time, having been a former state highway commissioner and friend of Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the NPS.

68. Lange to the Chief Architect, report for April 8 to 25, 1938, 2; Lange to the Chief Architect, report for May 25 to June 25, 1938, 2.

69. Richard L. Sabin, Assistant Secretary of Oregon Caves Resort, to Ernest P. Leavitt, Superintendent, August 16, 1943; Leavitt to Sabin, August 28, 1943.

70. The new hotel evolved from discussions with the concessionaire, where the company had originally wanted to build more cabins—a prospect that the NPS believed would lead to overcrowding on the hillside. Lange to E.A. Davidson, August 23, 1937; Lange to the Chief Architect, report for April 8 to April 25, 1938, 4; Lange to the Chief Architect, report for July 25 to August 25, 1938, 1; Lange to the Chief of Planning, July 25 to August 25, 1939; Leavitt to the Regional Director, April 3, 1940.

71. Robert J. Keeney, “Addition to Guides Cabin, Oregon Caves National Monument,” no drawing number, June 1, 1938, four sheets.

72. G.A. Lium, New Chalet, revised drawing 8001, November 4, 1941, seven sheets; Cecil Doty, New Chalet, to be filed with drawing 8001, September 13, 1941, one sheet showing perspective of breezeway. The largest change made during construction stemmed from Lange’s successor, Lester Anderson, recommending that Lium pull the Chalet ten feet further back (a move that required more excavation) to provide a larger assembly area in front of the building; Leavitt to the Regional Director, March 26, 1942, 1.

73. This is reflected in the NPS section of the department’s annual report for the year; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office 1942), 159-184.

74. For a detailed overview of how the NPS planning process evolved during the 1930s, see Linda McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 300-312.

75. Lange to the Chief Architect, January 9, 1935, 1, and January 31, 1935, 1.

76. Lange interview, February 1, 1991, 2.

77. The use of cedar bark siding as a design feature caught on to the extent that it spread to Grayback (where it can still be seen at the guard station and garage) but elsewhere on the Siskiyou National Forest. It sheathed the guard station at Store Gulch on the Illinois River and a work center at Ferris Ford near Powers; Elizabeth Gail Throop, *Utterly Visionary and Chimerical: A Federal Response to the Depression*, MA thesis, Portland State University, 1979, 184-185. No matter how Lange and others disliked the walls so sporadically built by Rowley and other company employees, they dismantled very few of them, choosing to hide or at least obscure the joints with plantings; Lange to the Chief Architect, July 25, 1935, 2.

78. Oregon Caves Resort, *Oregon Caves Chateau* (Grants Pass: Courier Printing, 1935); later reprinted with different photographs.

79. Fred Lockley, "Impressions and Observations of the Journal Man," *Portland Oregon Journal*, August 17, 1936. The music program was initiated even before the Chateau's construction; "At the Ghost Chamber," *Portland Oregon Journal*, August 24, 1927; "Cave Attendance Showing Boom," *Medford Mail Tribune*, June 24, 1931. By 1938 every employee was expected to join in the medley of college songs that marked the program's conclusion. The final numbers were "Good Night Ladies" and Taps; Bud Breitmeyer to Steve Mark, November 26, 2005, 1.

80. Bud Breitmeyer to the author, April 29, 2006, 2.

81. Lange to the Chief Architect, October 25 to November 25, 1938, 2; Lange to the Regional Director, November 5, 1938; Bud Breitmeyer to Steve Mark, July 18, 2005; 1-2. Breitmeyer later recalled that Meola used only a quarter stick of dynamite each time and never cracked a single window; Breitmeyer to the author, April 29, 2006, 1.

82. "The Marble Halls of Oregon," Warren D. Smith to David Canfield, September 13, 1935, extract from attachment, 2.

83. Amos B. Guthrie, in charge [USFS] public relations, memorandum of October 15, 1921, 3.

84. USDA-Forest Service, *The Oregon Caves, Siskiyou National Forest* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, c. 1926).

85. "Cave folders out," Grants Pass *Courier*, May 15, 1925. The company titled its early brochure "Oregon Caves: A National Monument," then revised and retitled it in 1934 as "Oregon Caves Chateau."

86. "California Tourists Lead," *Oakland Tribune*, [February] 1938, though a comment about tourism at Oregon Caves appeared in the *Portland Oregon Journal*, February 16, 1938.

87. Rationale for the group and its link to preservation efforts is briefly stated in Mark, *Preserving the Living Past*, 89-90.

88. In contrast to the booklets produced by the agency at the time for national parks like Crater Lake, the NPS brochure for Oregon Caves during the late 1930s consisted of a single sheet. On one side of it the map depicted much of the landscape garden (cave entrance area) in plan view, with highlighted features like "Joaquin Miller's Chapel" and the Big Tree drawn as insets; USDI-NPS, *Oregon Caves National Monument*, February 1939, OCNM museum collection.

89. For additional detail see Hal Rothman, *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 89-118, and David Louter, *Administrative History, Craters of the Moon National Monument* (Seattle: USDI-NPS, 1992), 69-89.

90. This was the implied direction of the NPS even before transfer of the 16 national monuments managed by the Forest Service occurred, as



indicated by a booklet issued by the agency titled *Our National Monuments* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1932).

91. Lawrence C. Merriam, Jr., *Oregon's Highway Park System, 1921-1989: An Administrative History* (Salem: State Printer, 1992), 25-30.

92. "Tourist Harvest Said \$19,000,000," *Portland Oregonian*, February 10, 1935. The figure was derived from information gathered after a letter and questionnaire had been sent to 5,000 motorists who had registered as visitors to Oregon in 1934. This was during a period that out of state vehicles were still required to register their vehicles at offices located near the state's borders.

93. For more on this point, see two articles on photographers and Crater Lake; Sharon M. Howe, "Photography and the Making of Crater Lake," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 103:1 (Spring 2002), 76-97, and Lee Juillerat, "Peter Britt and Fred Kiser: Pioneer Photographers and the Promotion of Crater Lake," *Journal of the Shaw Historical Library* 15 (2001), 56-66.

94. Kiser's studio at Oregon Caves lasted only a few years, with the merchandise long since removed in favor of storing carbide lamps until the CCC removed the building in 1936; "CCC will erect new buildings in area near caves," *Grants Pass Courier*, January 20, 1936.

95. Stephen Boyd, "Picture Windows: How Picture Postcards Portray and Promote our Paradise," *Lithiagraph* 10:8 (October 1992), 1, 6-7.

96. Patterson was quoted in "Patterson Pictures," *Medford Mail Tribune*, January 1, 1928.

97. Paul Luartz, "Photo Finish was only beginning for Portland Concern," *Portland Oregonian*, May 25, 1946, magazine section, 5, in Thomas Robinson, *Oregon Photographers: Biographical History and Dictionary* (Portland: the author, 1992), entry for Sawyer's.

98. Also called the "Wishing Rock," it was handled by thousands who the guide told to rub it three times in order to make the wish come true; *Portland Oregonian*, August 9, 1936, section 2, 2.

99. John Dennis, "View-Master Then and Now," *Stereo World* (March-April 1984), reprint edition [1989]; Mary Ann and Wolfgang Sell, "The Man behind the magic: the inventor William Gruber," [undated article in employee newsletter], 2-4.

100. Wayland A. Dunham, *Enchanted Corridors* (Portland: Dunham Printing, 1939).

101. Warren D. Smith, *The Scenic Treasure House of Oregon* (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1941), 108-109.

102. Russell Working, "Clan of the Cavemen," *Table Rock Sentinel* 12:3 (Summer 1992), 2-13. The Cavemen founded the Pirates as a

branch organization on the coast, though the latter never adopted the audaciousness of their progenitors; "Turn to Cave-Men and Cave-Women Once Every Year," *American Weekly* [June?] 1935.

103. The linkage began as the road to the monument opened; "Cavemen make trip to upper valley towns," Grants Pass *Courier*, September 21, 1922, 1. The Cavemen even petitioned Congress and government officials for funding to improve the monument; Oregon Cavemen, Inc., Mandate to Congress, attached to letter from Charles A. Hansen, Chief Bighorn, to C.H. Purcell, Bureau of Public Roads, January 27, 1928. Their link to the Redwood Empire Association is evident in a newspaper editorial titled "What makes the Redwood Empire "Tick," Grants Pass *Courier*, December 8, 1931. They opened the new Chateau in May 1934 after some of them several years earlier dangled from the unfinished building; "New structure at Oregon Caves ready to open, Oregon Cavemen, Inc. to check fitness of Lodge to Operate in Domain," Grants Pass *Courier*, May 11, 1934. The tripartite union among Grants Pass, Oregon Caves, and the Redwood Empire became evident to all passing motorists when all three parties funded a sign erected at the Caveman bridge in 1939; "To Erect Big Grants Pass neon road sign," Grants Pass *Courier*, January 30, 1939. The Cavemen even helped the Redwood Empire Association stage an "Indian marathon" in 1927, where native runners traveled by foot from San Francisco to Grants Pass.

104. E.P. Leavitt, Superintendent, to Neil R. Allen, Attorney [for the Oregon Caves Resort], April 21, 1944; Allen to Leavitt, June 9, 1944; Leavitt to Allen, June 16, 1944, 2-3.

105. In terms of size and level of development, the only comparable site in Oregon might be Honeyman Memorial State Park, though this 522 acre area is situated on the Oregon coast around two freshwater lakes confined by sand dunes. For detail about the CCC role there, see Nancy Ann Niedernhofer, *Reconnecting Nature and Design: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Oregon State Parks, 1933-1942*, M.A. thesis, George Washington University, 2004.

## 5. Decline from a Rustic Ideal

1. Many writers have contrasted the decay and misery of their present with a golden past despite there being little historical or scientific evidence for such an inclination; Jared Diamond, "The Golden Age That Never Was," *Discover Magazine* (December 1988), 71-79.

2. Devereaux Butcher, "For a Return to Harmony in Park

Architecture,” *National Parks Magazine* 26:111 (October – December 1952), 150-157. Butcher’s opposition to the “urban commonplace” reflected a desire for visitors to sense they were in a new kind of environment; Butcher to Robert P. Darlington, *National Parks Magazine* 28:116 (January – March 1954), 31-32.

3. Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type* (USDI-NPS: on-line book, 2000), Introduction: The Origins of Mission 66; [www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/allaback](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/allaback).

4. William C. Tweed, et al., National Park Service Rustic Architecture: 1916-1942. Typescript dated February 1977, Division of Cultural Resources Management, NPS Western Regional Office.

5. Two NPS studies published in 1998 are subject to the same criticism, though the “period of significance” usually established for NPS rustic architecture (1916-1942) is a byproduct of the National Register process which requires setting what often amounts to a sometimes arbitrary timeframe for properties nominated and then listed. The studies, which reflect assumptions driving the documentation of rustic architecture since 1980 or so, are: Ethan Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Linda Flint McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

6. Even though Mission 66 completion reports carried the words “Preservation through Planning,” such slogans did not stem the rising tide of discontent with the NPS; see Ronald Foresta, *America’s National Parks and their Keepers* (Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, 1984), 52-57.

7. Sheet titled “Oregon Caves, Future Government Administrative Area,” October 21, 1942.

8. Memorandum of Understanding between the Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, for use of lands within the Siskiyou National Forest for construction and maintenance of a permanent park ranger residence and related facilities, signed by H.C. Obye, Forest Supervisor, June 12, 1958, and Thomas J. Williams, Superintendent, June 28, 1958. The plea to house the permanent ranger stemmed from Lawrence C. Merriam, Regional Director, to the Director, January 17, 1957.

9. The special use permit from the Forest Service specified that all construction, to the extent possible, be screened from the view of passing motorists traveling the Caves Highway.

10. Ernest P. Leavitt, et al., to the NPS Director, May 12, 1942, and

H.F. Cameron to Regional Engineer, August 8, 1949; the natural hazard affecting the lot was summarized in the wake of a flood event in 1955; Emergency Estimates of Storm Damage, Narrative Statement [January 1956], 2-4. The cave lighting system overhaul was not noted in the Superintendent's Monthly Reports at Crater Lake for 1946. Building a new water system was predicated on contemporary needs, with estimated capacity based on calculations from cave visits, overnight stays, and monument totals; NPS, Estimated Cost of Water System, OCNM, September 1949.

11. W.J. Westley, Acting Regional Landscape Architect, to the Superintendent, June 9, 1952. Pipe railing had been used during the 1920s on the tour route and in front of the cave entrance but the latter was replaced by logs a decade later.

12. Stephen R. Mark, Historic American Buildings Survey documentation for Oregon Caves Chateau, HABS no. OR-145, [1990], 13.

13. William J. Stephenson, "Caves of the National Parks," *National Parks Magazine* 26:110 (July – September 1952), 104. Stephenson served as chairman of the National Speological Society's Conservation Committee; photographs for the article were taken by Devereaux Butcher, who in most ways led the NPA until 1957. NPA became the National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA) in 1970; John C. Miles, *Guardians of the National Parks: A History of the National Parks and Conservation Association* (Washington, DC: Taylor and Francis, 1995), 241.

14. As one contemporary account put it, "The labyrinth now has colored lights in it, the vaults are named, bridges lead over chasms in the subterranean trail and visitors are supposed to see likenesses of people and other things in the stalactites and stalagmites—which are, of course, interesting enough in themselves without looking like anything else." Ron Fish, *This is Oregon: The Northwest Adventure Series*. Book Four, Volume 1 (Caldwell: Caxton Printing, 1957), 44.

15. One example was what Rowley called the "Wigwam Room," where guides pointed out a formation called "Chief Rain in the Face," where dripping water struck a suggestive likeness; the name of that chamber was summarily changed to the "Imagination Room" in 1974 and the formation no longer highlighted on the tour.

16. Roger J. Contor, *The Underground World of Oregon Caves* (Crater Lake: Crater Lake Natural History Association, 1963).

17. Marvin L. Nelson, Completion Report, Cave Exit Trail Improvements, 1959.

18. Inspection of the gates (which were placed at the main entrance, the upper [or 110'] entrance, and at the end of the exit tunnel) came on June 3; Superintendent's Monthly Report [for Crater Lake and Oregon

Caves], July 13, 1958, 10. The recommendation for gates was made by E.H. MacDaniels, Report on Oregon Caves, February 14, 1920, 3.

19. This part of the monument is hardly a monoculture, since the surrounding plant community type contains ten tree species—the largest number in any community thus far identified; James K. Agee, et al., Oregon Caves Forest and Fire History, report CPSU/UW 90-1, Winter 1990, 20-25. Mistletoe had likely increased because of fire suppression leading to greater density of trees in the forest.

20. Jeff LaLande, Cultural Resources Overview for the North Siskiyou Planning Unit (Rogue River NF, Siskiyou NF, and Klamath NF), CR Job RR-15, May 1977, 40.

21. Two works substantiate this point in much greater depth: David A. Clary, *Timber and the Forest Service* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986), and Paul Hirt, *A Conspiracy of Optimism: Management of the National Forests since World War II* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

22. George McKinley and Doug Frank in their environmental history called “Stories on the Land” make the point that timber access roads began with the “truck trails” built by the CCC. One was the road along Grayback Creek started by enrollees from Camp Oregon Caves during the 1930s which became the route connecting the Illinois Valley with Williams, but used mainly by log trucks in the 1950s; Eric Allen, “Trip Made from Oregon Caves into Applegate Area Described,” *Medford Mail Tribune*, October 7, 1956. The truck trail was included in a NPS document called the Work Program Outline [for the CCC camp] from October 1, 1939 to June 30, 1940.

23. Hirt, *A Conspiracy of Optimism*, 157-159.

24. W. Ward Yeager, Crater Lake superintendent, to Chief, Columbia River Recreational Survey Branch, March 14, 1962.

25. The total loss due to inundation was projected to be 110 acres; Neal G. Guse, assistant superintendent, to Yeager, August 9, 1962.

26. The sites listed as possible campgrounds in the withdrawals of 1963 were on Cave Creek and at Bigelow Lakes and Tannen Lake. A site called “Monument Campground” (so named because of its proximity, being near the Big Tree Trail, to the lands administered by the NPS) joined them in 1965; Public Land Order 013667 (December 3, 1963), 1, and Public Land Order 3671 (June 10, 1965).

27. “Plans for more recreation areas outlined at meet,” *Medford Mail Tribune*, February 26, 1969.

28. “Grayback area now open to the public,” *Medford Mail Tribune*, May 3, 1965.

29. Christine Barnes, *Great Lodges of the National Parks* (Bend: W.W. West, 2002), 80-81.

30. "New Park Concessioner Labor Regulations Issued," USDI-NPS news release, May 3, 1950.

31. In both cases a smaller local concern was swallowed by an Oregon-based corporation later known as the Estey Corporation. The sale at Crater Lake was prompted by a "water crisis" in 1975, during which the park was ordered closed after employees and visitors became ill from contaminated drinking water.

32. Russell Working, "70 Years of Club-Wielding," *Grants Pass Courier*, May 23, 1992, 14A. The Cavemen did, however, recall their past in sponsoring six Grants Pass High School alumni who re-enacted the Redwood Empire Indian Marathon of 1927 sixty years later; "Redwood Empire Run Run Again," *Grants Pass High School 100 Year Centennial Newsletter*, January 1988, 1-2. The Boatnik festivities began in 1959.

33. The population figure given for 1922 appeared on the Grants Pass Chamber of Commerce folder for that year, which shows, among other things, Grants Pass and Oregon Caves at the center of a regional map depicting an 80 mile radius. City population figures by decade are in William G. Loy, et al., *The Atlas of Oregon* (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2001), 28-31.

34. This figure is based on the experience of the writer, who in the summer of 1973 arrived at Oregon Caves in company with family members. The time given has also been substantiated by a former NPS superintendent there; John Miele interview, November 30, 1999.

35. Funds to purchase eight acres came through omnibus legislation enacted on November 10, 1978 as P.L. 95-625. See section 301, subsection 14 in Dorothy J. Whitehead (comp.), *Laws Relating to the National Park Service*, Supplement IV (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980), 425. This acquisition was later reduced by half through sale of four acres.

36. Cave Junction *Illinois Valley News*, "City of Cave Junction 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, 1948-1998," 7.

37. In chronological order, the Rough and Ready site north of O'Brien came first through a lease of 70 acres by the state parks obtained in 1937, though they did not acquire a deed on 30 acres (what became the wayside) of that tract from the Bureau of Land Management until 1962. Acquisition of what became Illinois River State Park located south of Cave Junction began in 1961, but the present total of 368 acres did not come until 1977. The county park at Lake Selmac, a reservoir near Selma, originated in the 1960s.

38. This began with publication of a nationally-distributed book focusing on hikes in roadless areas of southwest Oregon and northwest California which the author considered eligible for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System; John Hart, *Hiking the Bigfoot Country* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1975).

39. These were the Endangered American Wilderness Act which formally designated additions to the Kalmiopsis Wilderness Area and the Wild Rogue Wilderness in 1978. The Oregon Wilderness Act of 1984 came as one of several bills aimed at resolving what was to be protected under the terms of the Wilderness Act of 1964; it designated three new wilderness areas on the Siskiyou National Forest: Grassy Knob, Red Buttes (Oregon portion), and Siskiyou (in conjunction with the Klamath and Six Rivers national forests).

40. Steve Knutson, *Oregon Caves* survey map (Crater Lake: Crater Lake Natural History Association, 1975).

41. John Roth, "Fossil Finds and the Age of Oregon Caves," *Nature Notes from Crater Lake* 27 (1996), 29-32.

42. Mike Romick, Manager, to Craig Ackerman, Superintendent, July 27, 1998, 2. Records indicate that as early as 1952, the NPS wanted more natural history content, especially geology, to be included on the cave tour; Lawrence C. Merriam, Regional Director, to Superintendent, Crater Lake, December 11, 1952, and Harry C. Parker, Chief Park Naturalist, to Superintendent, Crater Lake, November 11, 1952.

43. The nomination form is in Laura Souillere Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks: National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1987), 383-395. Harrison visited the Chateau in 1985, as part of a field visit to this and other buildings nominated in the study.

44. Stephen R. Mark, Oregon Caves Historic District, National Park Service nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, June 1991.

45. Gretchen Luxenberg, Historic American Buildings Survey documentation for Oregon Caves Concession Cottages (narrative and photographs), HABS no. OR-147, 1988.

46. Mark's nomination used a format developed from a cultural landscape report for Rim Village at Crater Lake to describe the district's character and significance. Initial inventory and documentation of the site came about through the efforts of Cheryl Martin at the University of Oregon in 1984, though her work was largely baseline information centered on architectural significance.

47. Erasure or reduction of impacts associated with the linear tour route through Oregon Caves could be achieved only through restoration

of the original air flow (something which hinged on restricting air in the connecting and exit tunnels) and continued removal of organic matter brought underground by visitors and staff.

## 6. Recommendations

1. Laura Souillere Harrison, *Architecture in the Parks: National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1986), 383-395.

2. The authors of a subsequent cultural landscape inventory for the monument made a convincing argument for adjusting the district's boundaries based on topographic considerations and original design intent; see Cathy Gilbert and Marsha Tolon, Cultural Landscape Report: Cultural Landscape Inventory of Oregon Caves National Monument (Seattle: USDI-NPS, Cultural Resources Division, 1992).

3. Linda Flint McClelland, Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks, NPS multiple property documentation form, August 8, 1995, 176-182.

4. For additional detail on how integrity has been assessed at the monument, see Cathy Gilbert and Marsha Tolon, Cultural Landscape Report: Cultural Landscape Inventory at Oregon Caves National Monument, Winter 1992, USDI-NPS, Cultural Resources Division, Pacific Northwest Region, 50.

5. For the distinction in the design and construction of recreational trails, as opposed to trails primarily built for other uses, see McClelland, Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks, multiple property documentation form (1995), 85-88; or for more detail, *Building the National Parks*, 233-242.

6. This route follows the Big Tree Trail as it leaves the Chalet and then diverges from the loop in eight tenths of a mile, to where hikers (who astutely step around the brush piles made to obscure it) follow a path made for access along the water line to Lake Creek. This trail disappears into a brush field (clear cut area) once it leaves the monument.

7. George F. ("Fred") Whitworth was probably the most influential engineer, whereas Francis Lange, Edwin Meola, and Howard Buford as landscape architects all had some effect on the trail projects.

8. Oregon Department of Transportation, Highway Division, Planning Section, Systems Studies Unit, *Oregon Historic and Scenic Highway Program* (Salem: State Printer, n.d.), 28.

9. Oregon Department of Transportation, Technical Advisory Committee, Lake Creek Bridge Project (Key No. 03895), August 18,



1994, 1.

10. Gilbert and Tolon, Cultural Landscape Report, 6.

11. McClelland, Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks, 194-195. Two sites should be further studied in order to determine whether they meet the eligibility criteria. Both are remnants of earlier water systems serving the monument, with the first being a surface diversion dating from the early 1920s on Cave Creek, situated across the stream before it disappears underground in the cave system. The second is what remains of a subsequently constructed concrete reservoir located above the Chalet at roughly the 4,300 foot contour. The writer is grateful to long-time seasonal ranger Ron Reed for information on how to reach this latter site.

12. A portion of the old Caves Creek Trail blazed by Walter Burch appears to be intact near a waterfall about a mile below the campground. It can be accessed from the highway near milepost 15, where a small road has been punched into a flat area that allows for vehicle parking. Follow an older bulldozed road on foot until two distinct sections of trail (one with blazes) can be identified near the waterfall.

13. Elaine Jackson-Retondo and Len Warner, Pacific West Region Mission 66 Resources, draft multiple property documentation form, August 10, 2004, 38.

14. Ibid.

15. The other was a portable ranger station brought from Crater Lake in 1964. It was renovated and expanded in 1982 and then removed in 1996. The property types identified include: visitor centers, administration buildings, campgrounds, ranger stations, school houses, comfort stations, maintenance and utility buildings, residences, roads, and miscellaneous developments (such as picnic areas).

16. It should also be noted that rubble from a mining operation can be found near the residence. The claim dates from the early twentieth century, but virtually all the disturbance stems from one "Jiggs" Morris who extracted a limited amount of calcite from the site between the late 1960s until his operation was shut down in 1971.

17. See the Long Range (comprehensive) Interpretive Plan for Oregon Caves National Monument completed in 2003 for further justification.

18. Janice Tiland, "The Siletz Indians: forgotten but not gone," and Marilyn Maurais, "Hoskins: a fort," *Pioneers!* (Philomath: Benton County Historical Society, 1975), 16-22. The Grand Ronde Reservation in Yamhill County is perhaps just as suggestive in illustrating the challenges posed by removal.

19. Other vestiges of this period (1916-1933) consist mainly of pri-

vate property developed in response to federal and state outlays for roads. The Lind Home, located near the forest boundary below Grayback and abutting the state highway, continues to furnish a striking example of an early, but modest, resort complete with several cabins. Later and more typical auto camps can be seen south of Cave Junction on the Redwood Highway, though these remain in private hands as well. By contrast, the site of Grayback Park (alternately called the Oregon Caves or Sucker Creek forest camp) is on federal land but is now the parking area and start of an interpretive trail leading to Grayback Campground.

20. Stephen R. Mark, Oregon Caves Historic District, NPS nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, June 1991 (listed February 1992); Cathy Gilbert and Marsha Tolon, Cultural Landscape Report: Cultural Landscape Inventory of Oregon Caves National Monument, Winter 1992 (Seattle: USDI-NPS, Cultural Resources Division); Gretchen Luxenberg, Historic American Buildings Survey document of Oregon Caves Concession Cottages, HABS No. OR-147, 1988; Stephen R. Mark, Historic American Buildings Survey documentation of the Oregon Caves Chateau, Oregon Caves Chalet, and Oregon Caves Ranger Residence, HABS No. OR-145, OR-146, and OR-149, 1990; Alex McMurry, Historic Structure Report, Oregon Caves Chateau, Oregon Caves National Monument, terminal project, Historic Preservation Program, School of Architecture and Allied Arts, University of Oregon, June 1999.

21. Examples are the Port Orford-cedar tables still extant at Lava Beds National Monument, where particularly nice examples can be found at Fleener Chimneys and Indian Well. Crater Lake National Park still has four benches and a conference table produced by the camp, as well as several wooden signs with raised lettering made by enrollees.